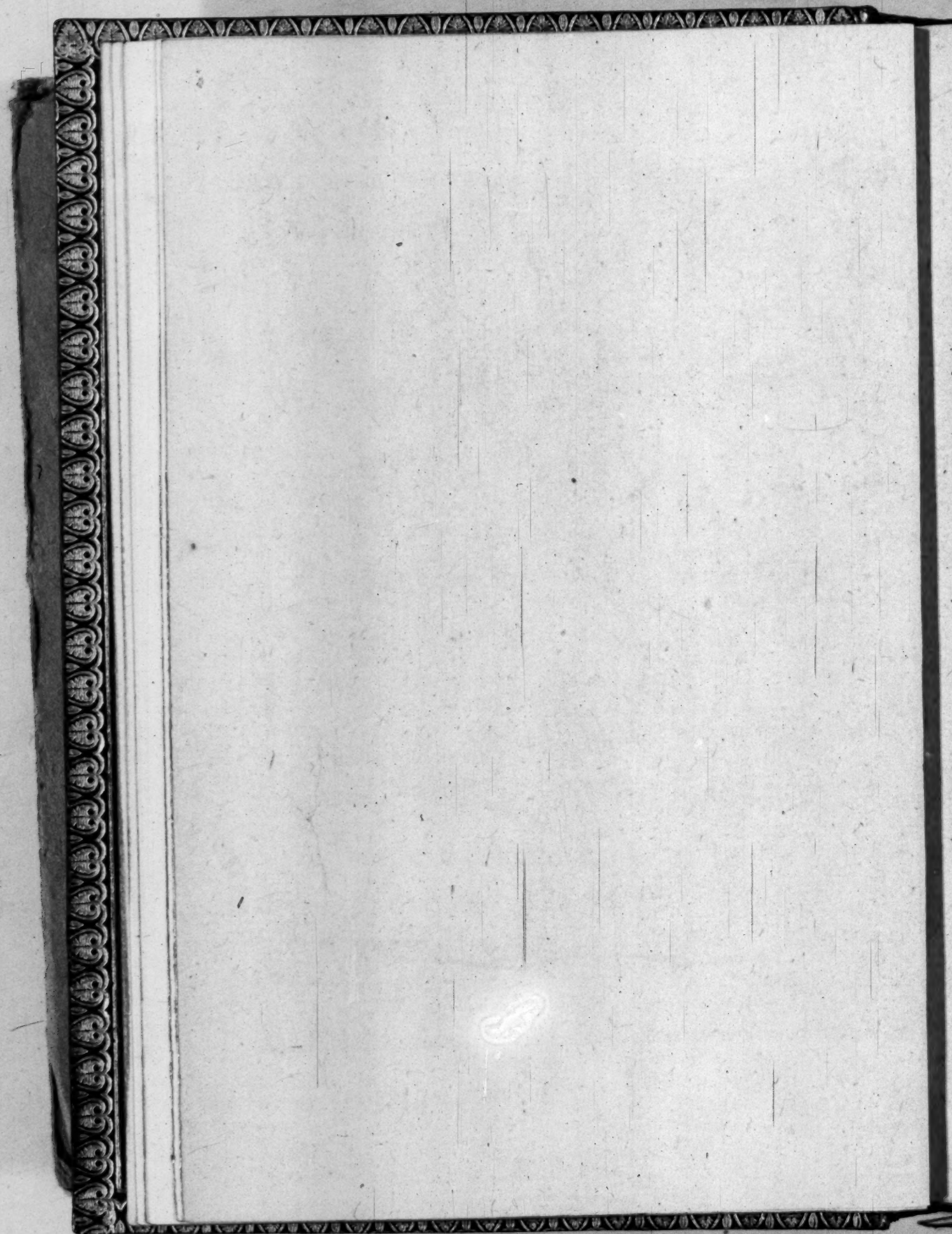




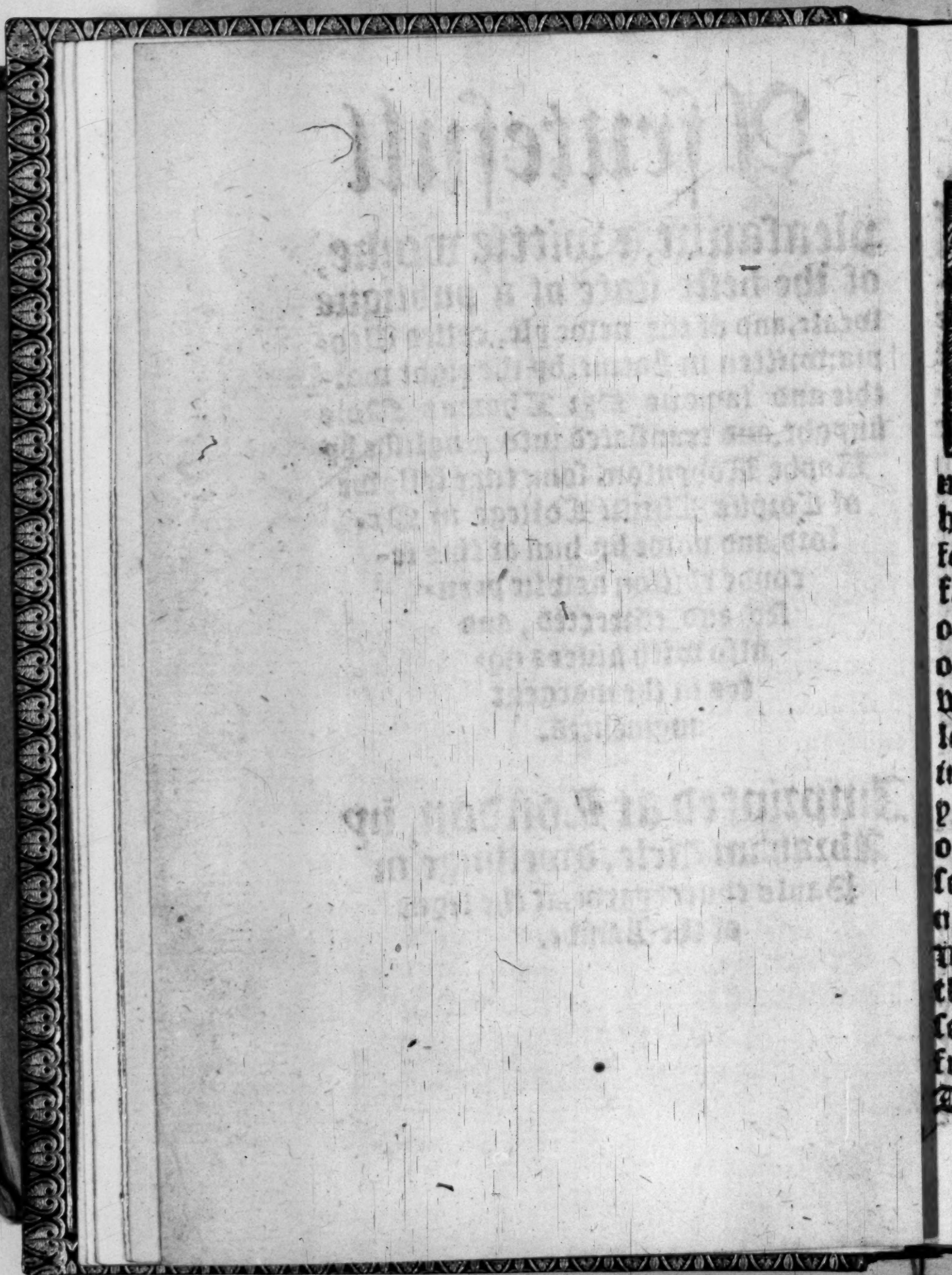
S.^r Richard Newdigate of
Arbury in the County of Warwick
Baronet 1709



A frutefull

pleasaunt, & wittie worke,
of the beste state of a publique
weale, and of the newe yle, called Uto-
pia: written in Latine, by the right wor-
thie and famous Syr Thomas More
knyght, and translated into Englishe by
Raphe Robynson, sometime fellowe
of Corpus Christi Colledge in Ox-
ford, and nowe by him at this se-
conde edition newlie peru-
sed and corrected, and
also with diuers no-
tes in the margent
augmented.

Imprinted at London, by
Abraham Vele, dwellinge in
Pauls churchpase, at the signe
of the Lambe.



The translatōr to the gentle reader.



Thou shalte vnder-
stande gentle reader
that though this
worke of *Utopia* in
English, come now
the seconde tyme
furth in Print, yet
was it neuer in
minde nor intente, that it shoulde euer
haue bene Imprinted at all, as who
for no such purpose toke vpon me at the
firste the translation thereof: but did it
onely at the request of a frende, for his
owne priuate vse, vpon hope that he
wolde haue kept it secreete to hym self a
lone. Whō though I knew to be a man
in dede, both very wittie, & also skilful,
yet was I certē, that in the knowledge
of the Latin tonge, he was not so well
sene, as to be hable to iudge of the fine-
nes or coarsenes of my translation.
Wherefore I wente the more heighlye
through with it, propoundinge to my
selfe therein, rather to please my sayde
frendes iudgemente, then myne owne.
To the meane of whose learninge I
A.ū. thoughte

To the reader.

thoughte it my part to submit, and at-
temper my stile. Lightlie therefore I o-
uer-ran the whole woorke, and in shor-
tyme, with more hast, then good spede,
I brought it to an ende. But as the la-
tin prouerbe sayeth: The hasty bitch
bringeth furth blind whelpes. For whē
this my worke was finished, the rude-
nes therof shewed it to be done in poste
haste. Now be it, rude and base though
it were, yet fortune so ruled the matter
that to Imprintinge it came, and that
partly against my will. Nowebeit not
beinge hable in this behalfe to resist the
pitthie persuations of my frendes, and
perceauing therfore none other remedy,
but that furth it shoulde: I comforted
myselfe for the tyme, only with this no-
table saying of Terence.

Ita vita est hominum, quasi quā ludas tesseria.

Si illud, quod est maxumē opus, iactu nō cadit.

Illud, quod cecidit ferte, id arte ut corrigas.

In which verses the Poete likeneth or
compareth the life of man to a dice play-
ing or a game at the tables: Meaninge
therin, if that chaunce rise not, whiche
is most for the players aduantage, that
the

To the reader.

then the chaunce, whiche fortune hath sent, ought so cōyngly to be played, as may be to the plater least dammage. By the which worthy similitude surely the wittie Poete geueth vs to vnderstāde, that though in any of our actes and doynge, (as it ofte chaunceth) we happen to faile and misse of our good pretended purpose, so that the successe and our intent proue thinges farre odd: yet so we ought with wittie circumspection to handle the matter, that no euill or incommoditie, as farre furth as may be, and as in vbelieth, do therof ensue. According to the whiche counsell, though I am in dede in comparison of an experte gamerster & a cōying player, but a verpe bungler, yet haue I in this bychaunce, that on my side vnwares hath fallen, so (I suppose) behaued myself, that, as doubtles it might haue bene of me much more cōyingly handled, had I forethought so much, or doubted any such sequele at the beginninge of my plaie: so I am sure it had bene much worse then it is, if I had not in the ende looked somewhat earnestly to my game. For though this worke

A.iii. came

To the Reader.

came not frō me so fine, so perfect, & so
exact as at first, as surely for my smale ler-
ning, it should haue done, yf I had then
ment the publishing therof in print: yet
I trust I haue now in this secōde editiō
takē about it such paines, & verpe fewe
great faultes & notable errours are in
it to be fōūde. Now therefore, most gen-
tle reader, the meanelle of this simple
translation, & the faultes that be ther-
in (as I feare muche there be some) I
doubt not, but thou wilt, in iust consi-
deration of the premisses, gentlpe & fa-
uourably winke at them. So do-
ynge thou shalt minister vnto
me good cause to thinke
my labour and paynes
herein not altoge-
thers bestowed
in vaine.

VALE.

Thomas More to Pe-
ter Giles, sendeth
greeting.



I am almoste ashamed,
righte welbeloued Pe-
ter Giles, to send vnto
you this booke of **U**lco-
pian cominen wealth,
welneigh after a yeres

space, whiche I am sure you looked for
within a moneth and a halfe. And no
marueil. For you knewe well ynough,
that I was alreade disbourdened of
all the laboure and studie belongynge
to the inuention in this worke, and that
I had no nede at al to trouble my bray-
nes about the disposition, or conueiaunce
of the matter: and therfore had herein
nothing els to do, but only to rehearse
those thinges, whiche you and I toge-
thers hard master Raphael tel and de-
clare. Wherefore there was no cause
why I shuld study to set forth the mat-
ter w eloquence: for as much as his talke
could not be fine & eloquent, beyng firste
not studied for, but suddain & vnprome-
ditate, and then, as you know, of a man

W. liij.

better

The Epistle.

Teneth loveth
simplicitie and
playneg.

better sene in the Greke language, then
in the latin tonge And my writynge, the
niggher it should approche to his home-
ly plaine, and simple speche, somuche the
niggher shuld it go to the truetb: which
is the onely marke, wherunto I do and
ought to directe all my trauail and stu-
dy herin. I graunte and confesse, frende
Peter, my selfe discharged of so muche
laboure, hauinge all these thinges ready
done to my hande, that almooste there
was nothinge left for me to do. Elles ei-
ther the inuention, or the disposition of
this matter myghte haue requyred of a
wytte neither base, neither at all bulear-
ned, both some time and leasure, and al-
so some studie. But if it were requisite,
and necessarie, that the matter shoulde
also haue bene wyrtten eloquentlie, and
not alone truelpe: of a surretie that
thynge coulde I haue perfourmed by
no tyme nor studie. But nowe scynge
all these cares, stapes, and lettes were
taken awaye, wherin elles so muche la-
boure and studie shoulde haue bene em-
ployed, and that there remayned no o-
ther thynge for me to do, but onely
to

The Epistle.

to write playnelie the matter as I had
it spoken: that in deede was a thynge
lighte and easie to be done. Howbeit
to the dispatchynge of thys so lytle bu-
sinesse, my other cares and troubles did
leauie almost lesse, then no leasure.

Whiles I doo dayelie bestowe my time
aboute lawe matters: some to pleade,
some to heare, some as an arbitratoure
with myne awarde to determine, some
as an vniuersall or a Judge, with my sen-
tence finallye to discusse. Whiles I
go one waye to see and visite my frende:
an other waye about myne owne priuat
affaires. Whiles I spende almost al the
daye abroad amonges other, and the resi-
due at home among mine owne: I leaue
to my self, I meane to my booke no time
For when I am come home, I muste
commen with my wife, chatte with my
childzen, and talke wyth my seruaun-
tes. All the whiche thinges I reckon
and accompte amonge businesse, foras-
muche as they muste of necessitie be
done: and done muste they nedes be,
ouerleste a man wyll be straunger in
his

The author
business & let-
ters.

The Epistle.

his owne house. And in anye wyse
a man muste so fashyon and order hys
conditions, and so appoint and dispose
him selfe, that he be merie, iocunde, and
pleasaunt amonge them, whom eyther
nature hath prouided, or chaunce hath
made, or he hym selfe hath chosen to be
the felowes, and companions of hys
life: so that with to muche gentle beha-
uoure & familiaritie, he do not marre
them, and by to muche sufferance of
his seruantes, make them his map-
pers. Amonge these thynges nowe re-
hearsed, stealeth awaie the dape, the
moneth, the yere. When do I write
then? And all this while haue I spoken
no worde of slepe, neyther yet of meate,
which among a great nūber doth wast
no litle tyme, then doeth slepe, wherein
almost halfe the life tyme of man cre-
peth awaie. I therefore do wyane and
get onelpe that tyme, whiche I steale
from slepe and meate. Whiche tyme be-
cause it is very litle, and yet somewhat
it is, therfore haue I ones at the laste,
thoughe it be longe first, finished Uto-
pia, and haue sent it to you, frende De-
ter,

Meate & slepe
great wasters
of tyme.

The Epistle.

ter. to reade and peruse : to the intente
that if anye thynge haue escaped me,
you might put me in remembraunce of
it. For though in this behalfe I do
not greatlye mistruste my selfe (whiche
woulde God I were somewhat in wit
and learninge, as I am not all of the
worste and dullest memoire) yet haue I
not so great truste and confidence in it,
that I thinke nothinge coulde fall out
of my mynde. For John Clement my
hope, who as you know was there pre-
sente with vs, whome I suffer to be a
waie frome no talke, wherein maye be
any profyte or goodnes (for oute of this
ponge bladed and new shotte by corne,
whiche hath alreadye begon to spring
by both in Latin and Greke learninge,
I loke for plentifull increase at length
of goodly rype grapue) he I saye hath
broughte me into a greate doubt. For
wheras Pythlodape (onelesse my me-
moire faile me) sayde that the bridge of
Anaurote, whiche gethe ouer the ri-
uer of Anyder is fye hundred paces,
that is to saye, halfe a myle in lengthe:
my John sayeth that two hundred of
those

John Clement

The Epistle.

those papeis muste be plucked away, for
that the ryuer conteyneth there not a-
boue three hundred papeis in breadthe.
I praye you hartelye call the matter to
youre remembraunce . For yf you a-
gree wyth hym, I also wyll saye as you
saye, and confesse my selfe deceaued.
But if you cannot remember the thing,
then surelye I wyll write as I haue
done, and as myne owne remembraunce
serueth me. For as I wyll take good
hede, that there be in my booke nothing
falle, so yf there be anye thyng doubte-
full, I wyll rather tell a lye, then make
a lie: by cause I had rather be good, then
wylle . Howebeit this matter maye
easilye be remedied, yf you wyll take
the paynes to aske the question of Ra-
phael him selfe by woorde of mouth, if
he be nowe with you, or elles by youre
letters . Whiche you muste nedes do
for an other doubte also, that hath
chaunced, throughe whose faulte I can-
not tel: whether throughe mine, or yours,
or Raphaels. For neyther we remem-
bered to enquire of him, nor he to tell vs
in what part of the newe world Utopia

A dyuer little
betwene ma-
king a lye, and
telling a lie.

In what parte
of the worlde
Utopia stan-
deth it is vn-
knowne.

The Epistle.

is situate. The whiche thinge, I had rather haue spent no small somme of money, then that it should thus haue escaped vs: as well for that I am ashamed to be ignoraunt in what sea that plande stā deth, wherof I write so long a treatise, as also because there be with vs certen men, and especiallie one vertuous and godly man, and a professour of diuinitie, who is exceedynge desierous to go vnto **Utopia**: not for a bayne and curious desyre to see newes, but to the intente he maye further and increase oure religion, whiche is there alreadye luckelye begonne. And that he maye the better accomplishe and perfourme this hys good intente, he is mynded to procure that he maye be sente thether by the hiegher Bpshoppe: yea, and that he himselfe maye be made Bpshoppe of **Utopia**, beyng nothyng scrupulous herein, that he musse obteyne this Bpshopricke with suete. For he counteth that a godly suete, which procedeth not of the desire of honoure or lucre, but onely of a godly zeale. Wherfore I moste earnestly

It is thought of some that here is buriedly ment the late famous vicare of Croydon in Surrey.

A godly suete.

The Epistle.

nestly desire you, frende Peter, to talke
with Pythlodape, pf you can, face to
face, or els to wyte youre letters to
hym, and so to woorke in thys matter,
that in this my booke there mape ney-
ther anpe thinge be founde, whyche is
vnttrue, neyther any thinge be lacking,
whiche is true. And I thynke verelye it
shalbe well done, that you shewe vnto
him the booke it selfe. For pf I haue
myssed or fapled in anpe popnte, or if a-
npe faulte haue escaped me, no man
can so well correcte and amende it, as
he can: and yet that can he not do, one-
les he peruse, and reade ouer my booke
writte. Moreover by this meanes shall
you perceaue, whether he be well wyl-
lynge and content, that I shoulde vn-
dertake to put this woorke in wrytyng.
For if he be mynded to publyshe, and
put forth his owne laboures, and tra-
naples himselfe, perchance he woulde
be lothe, and so woulde I also, that in
publishynge the Utopiane weale pu-
blyque, I shoulde preuent him, & take
frome him the flower and grace of the
noueltie of this his historie. Nowbeit,

The Epistle.

to saye the verie treuth, I am not yet
fullpe determined with my selfe, whe-
ther I will put furth my booke or no.
For the natures of men be so diuers,
the phantasies of some so waywarde, ^{The unkynde}
their myndes so unkynde, ^{iudgements}
gements so corrupte, that they which
leade a merie and a iocounde lyfe, fo-
llopyng thei owne sensuall pleasu-
res and carnall lustes, maye seme to be
in a muche better state or case, the they
that bere and ynquiete theselues with
cares and studie for the puttinge forth
and publishyng of some thyng, that
maye be either profect or pleasure to o-
thers: whiche others neuertheles will
disdainfully, scornefully, & unkindly ac-
cepte the same. The moost part of al be
vnlarned. And a greate number hathe
learning in contempte. The rude and
barbarous alloweth nothing, but that
which is verie barbarous in dede. If it
be one that hath a litle smacke of lear-
nyng, he reiecteth as homely geare &
commen ware, whatsoeuer is not stuf-
fed full of olde moughteaten termes, &
that be worne out of vse. Some there
be

The Epistle.

be that haue pleasure onely in olde rusty antiquities . And some onely in their owne doynges. One is so slowe, so crabbed, and so vnpleasaunte, that he can awaye with no myrthe nor sporte. An other is so narrowe betwene his shoulders, that he can beare no iestes nor tauntes. Some seli poore soules be so afraid that at euerye snappishe woorde their nose shall be bitten of, that they stande in no lesse drede of euerye quicke and sharpe woorde, than he that is bitten of a madde dogge feareth water. Some be so mutable and wauerynge, that euerye houre they be in a newe mynde, sayinge one thinge spttinge, and an other thynge standynge. An other sorte sptteth vpon their allebencheis, and there amonge their cuppes they geue iudgement of the wittes of writers, and with greate authoritie they condemne euerye as pleaseth them, euerye writer accordeynge to his writinge, in mosse spitefull maner mockynge, lowtyng, and flowtyng them: beyng them selues in the meane season sauffe, and as sayeth the prouerbe, oute of all daunger of gonnes shotte

The Epistle.

shotte. For why, they be so smugge & smothe, that they haue not so much as one heare of an honeste man, wherby one may take holde of them. There be moreouer some so vnkynde, and vngentle, that though they take great pleasure, and delectation in the worke, yet for all that, they can not fynde in their hertes to loue the Author therof, nor to aforde him a good woorde: beyng much like vncourteous, vnthankfull, and chourlish gestes. Whiche when they haue with good and daintie meates well fylled their bellies, departe home, geuyng no thanks to the feaste maker. So your wapes now, & make a costely feaste at your owne charges for gestes so dainty mouthed, so diuers in taste, and besides that of so vnkynde and vnthankfull natures. But neuertheles (frende Peter) doo, I pray you, with Withloday, as I willed you before. And as for this matter I shall be at my libertie, afterwardes to take newe aduise. Howbeit, seeing I haue taken great paynes and labour in writing the matter, if it may stande

B. i.

With

A fittie Similitude.

The Epistle.

With his mynde and pleasure, I will
as touchyng the edition or publishyng
of the booke, followe the counsell and
advice of my frendes, and specialle
yours. Thus fare you well right her-
tely beloued frende Peter, with
your gentle wife: and loue
me as you haue euer done,
for I loue you better
then euer I
dyd.

The first

Booke of the cōmunication of
Raphael Hythloday, concerning
the best state of a cōmen welth.



The most victorious
and triumphante
Kynge of Englande
Henry the eighth
of that name, in
all roial vertues, a
Prince most pre-
cellente, hadde of late
in controuersie wth

Charles, the right highe and mightie
Kynge of Castell, weightie matters, &
of great importauce. For the debate-
ment & final determinatiō wherof, the
kinges Maiesty sent me Ambassadour
into Flaunders, ioynd in Cōmission
with Cuthbert Tunstall, a man doubt-
lesse out of comparisson, and whom the
Kynge's Maiestie of late, to the great
reioysynge of all men, dyd preferre to
the office of Maister of the Rolles.

Cuthbert
Tunstall

But of this mannes p'aples I

W. it,

W. it

The first Booke

Wyll saye nothyng, not bicause I doe
feare that small credence shalbe geuen
to the testimonye that cometh out of a
frendes mouthe: but bicause his ver-
tue and lernyng be greater, and of more
excellēcy, then that I am able to praise
them: and also in all places so famous
& so perfectly well knowne, that they
neede not, nor oughte not of me to bee
prayed, vnlasse I woulde seeme to
shew, and setturth the brightnes of the
sonne with a candell, as the Proverbe
saith. There mette vs at Bruges (for
thus it was before agreed) thei whom
their Prince hadde for that matter ap-
pointed Commissioners: excellent men
all. The chiefe and the head of them
was the Maregrane (as thei call him)
of Bruges, a right honorable man: but
the wisest & the best spokē of them was
George Temlice, prouost of Casselles,
a man, not only by lernyng, but also by
nature of singular eloquence, and in
the lawes profoundly learned: but in
reasonyng, and debatynge of matters
what by his naturall witte, & what by
daily exercise, surely he hadde few fel-
lowes.

labbes. After that we had once or twice
mette, and vpon certayne poyntes or
articles coude not fully and througly
agee, they for a certayne space tooke
their leaue of vs, & departed to Brux-
elle, there to know their Princes plea-
sure. In the meane time (for so my bu-
sines laye) wente streight thence to
Antwerpe. Whiles I was there ab-
dyng, often times amonge other, but
whiche to me was more welcome then
anuy other, vpd visite me one Peter
Giles, a Citisen of Antwerpe, a man
there in his countrey of honest reputa-
tion, and also preferred to high promo-
tions, worthy trulpy of the hyghest.
For it is hard to say, whether the yong
man be in learning, or in honestye more
excellent. For he is bothe of wonder-
full vertuous conditions, and also sin-
gularly wel learned, and towarde all
sortes of people excedyng gentyll: But
towarde his frendes so kynde herted,
so louyng, so faithfull, so trustye, and
of so earnest affection, that it were be-
lieue harde in any place to fynde a man,
that with him in all poyntes of frend-

Peter Giles.

The first Booke

shippe maye be compared . No man
can be more lowlye or courteous . No
man vseth lesse simulation or dissimu-
lation, in no man is more prudent sim-
plicitie. Besides this, he is in his talke
and communication so merke and plea-
saunte, yea and that withoute harme,
that throughe his gentyll intertaine-
mente, and his sweete and delectable
communication, in me was greatly a-
bated, and diminished the feruente de-
syre, that I had to see my native coun-
tre, my wyfe and my chyldren, whom
then I dyd muche longe and couete
to see, because that at that time I had
been more then . xiiij . Monethes from
them . Upon a certayne daye when I
hadde herde the diuine seruice in our
Ladies Church, which is the fayrest,
the most gorgeous and curious Chur-
che of buyldyng in all the Citie, and
also most frequented of people, and the
seruice beynge doone, was readye
to go home to my lodgyng, I chaun-
ced to espye this foresayde Peter tal-
kyng with a certayne Straunger, a
man well stricken in age, with a blacke

sonne

Sonneburned face, a longe bearde, and
 a cloke cast homly about his shoulders,
 whome, by his sauoure and apparell
 furthwith I iudged to bee a mariner.
 But the sayde Peter seying me, came
 vnto me, and saluted me. And as I
 was aboute to answer him: see you
 this man, sayth he (and therewith he
 poynted to the man, that I sawe hym
 talkynge with before) I was mynded,
 quod he, to brynge him straghte home
 to you. He should haue ben very wel
 come to me, sayd I, for your sake. May
 (quod he) for his owne sake, if you
 knewe him: for there is no man thys
 day liuynge, that can tell you of so ma-
 ny strange & vknownen peoples, and
 Countreys, as this man can. And I
 know wel that you be very desirous to
 heare of suche newes. When I con-
 tured not farre a misse (quod I) for e-
 uen at the first syght, I iudged him to
 be a mariner. Maye (quod he) there ye
 were greatly deceyued: he hath sailed in
 dedde, not as the mariner Salinure,
 but as the experte & prudent prince U-
 lisses: yea, rather as the auncient and
 sage

Raphaell
Pythlodape

The first Booke

sage Philosopher Plato. For this is the
same Raphaell Pythlodape (for this is his
name) is very well lerned in the
Latine tongue; but profounde and ex-
cellent in the Greke language. wherin
he euer bestowed more studie then in
the Latine, because he had geuen him-
selfe wholly to the study of Philosophy.
Wherof he knew that ther is nothing con-
stante in Latine, that is to anye pur-
pose, sauinge a fewe of Senecaes, and
Cicerones dooynge. His patrimonie (if
that he was borne vnto, he lefte to his
brethern (for he is a Portugall borne)
and for the desire that he had to see, and
knowe the farre Countreies of the
worlde, he ioynded himselfe in company
with Amerike Mespice, and in the
last voyages of those. that be now
in printe, and abroad in euery mannes
handes, he continued still in his com-
pany, sauing that in the last voyage he
came not home agayne with him. For
he made suche meanes and shift, what
by intretaunce, and what by importune
sute, that he gotte licence of mapster
Amerike (though it were sore agaynst
his

his wyll) to be one of the .xxlii. whiche
 in the ende of the last voyage were left
 in the countrey of Gulike. He was
 therefore lefte behynde for hys mynde
 make, as one that tooke more thoughte
 and care for traauailing, then dyenge:
 hauing customably in his mouth these
 saynges. He that hathe no graue, is
 couered with the skye: and, the way to
 heauē out of all places is of like length
 and distaunce. Which fantasie of his
 (if God had not ben his better frende)
 he had surely bought full deare. But
 after the departynge of Master Cle-
 spuce, when he had traauelled thorough
 and aboute many Countreies with .v.
 of his companions Gulikians, at the
 last by merueylous chaunce he arriued
 in Taprobane, from whence he went to
 Caliquit, where he chaunced to fynde
 certayne of hys Countrey shippes,
 wherein he retourned agayne into his
 Countrey, nothyng lesse then looked
 for. All this when Peter hadde tolde
 me: I thanked him for his gentle kind-
 nesse, that he had vouchsafed to brynge
 me to the speache of that man, whose

The first Booke

communication : he thoughte shoulde
be to me pleasaunte , and acceptable.
And therewith I tourned me to Ra-
phaell. And when wee hadde haplied
eche other : and had spoken these com-
mune woordes , that bee customablie
spoken at the first meting, and acquaint-
taunce of straungers , we went thence
to my house, and there in my gardaine
vpon a bench couered with greene tor-
ues, we satte downe talking together.
There he tolde vs, how that after the
departing of Mespuce , he and his fel-
lowes that tarted behynde in Bulicke,
began by litle and litle, throughe fayre
and gentle speache , to wyne the loue
and fauoure of the people of that coun-
trepe , insomuche that within shorte
space , they dyd dwell amonges them,
not only harmlesse, but also occupieng
with them verpe familiarly . He tolde
vs also, that they were in high reputa-
tion and fauour with a certayne great
man (whose name and Countrepe is
nowe quite out of my remembraunce)
whiche of his mere liberalitie dyd beare
the costes and charges of him and his
fyue

fine companions. And besides that
gave them a trusty guide to conducte
them in their iourney (which by water
was in botes, and by land in wagons)
and to bringe them to other Princes
with verie frendly commendations.
Thus after many dayes iourneys, he
sayd, they founde townes, and Cities,
and weale publiques, full of people,
gouerned by good and holsome lawes.
For vnder the line equinoctiall, and
on bothe sydes of the same, as farre
as the Sonne doth extende his course,
lyeth (quod he) great, and wyde deser-
tes and wildernesses, parched, burned,
and dryed vp with continuall and in-
tolerable heate. All thynges bee hi-
deous, terrible, lothesome, and vn-
pleasaunt to beholde: All thynges out
of fasson, and comelnesse, inhabi-
ted with the wyld Beastes, and Ser-
pentes, or at the leaste wyse, with peo-
ple, that be no lesse sauage, wyld, and
nosome, then the verie beastes them-
selues be. But a litle farther beponde
that, all thynges beginne by litle and
lytle to waxe pleasaunte, The ayre
softe,

The first Booke

colde, temperate & gentle. The ground
couered with grene grasse. Lette wild-
nesse in the beastes. At the last shall pe
come agayne to people, cities & townes
wherein is continuall entercourse and
occupying of merchaundise and chaf-
fare, not only among themselves, and
with their Borderers, but also with
Merchauntes of farre Countreys,
bothe by lande & water. There I had
occasion (sayd he) to go to many coun-
treys on euery syde. For there was
no shippe ready to any voyage or iour-
ney, but I and my fellows were into
it very gladly receyued. The shippes
that they founde first were made playn,
flatte, & broade in the botome, trough
wise. The sayles were made of great
rushes, or of wickers, & in some places
of lether. Afterwarde they founde ship-
pes with ridged kyeles: and sayles of
canuasse, pea, and shortly after haung
all thynges lyke oures. The shipmen
also very experte and cunnyng, bothe
in the sea, and in the wether. But he
saide, that he founde great fauoure and
frendship amonge them, for teachyng
them

Shippes of
strange fashions

them the feate and vse of the lode stone. The lode stone.
whiche to them before that time was
unknowne. And therfore they were
wonte to be verpe timerous & fearfull
vpon the sea: Nor to venter vpon it,
but only in the somer time. But nowe
they haue suche a confidence in that
stone, that they feare not stormy win-
ter: in so doopnge, farther from care
then daunger. In so muche, that it is
greatly to be doubted, lest that thyng,
throughe their owne folish hardinesse,
shall tourne them to ruyn and harme,
whiche at the first was supposed shoulde
be to them good and cōmodious. But
what he tolde vs that he sawe in eue-
rye countreye where he came, it were
very longe to declare. Neither it is my
purpose at this time to make rehersall
therof. But peradventure in an other
place I wyl speake of it, chiefly suche
thynges as shall be profitable too bee
knownen, as in spectall be those decrees
and ordinaunces, that he marked to be
well and wittely prouided and enacted
amonge suche peoples, as do liue toge-
ther in a ciuile policie, and good ordie.

The first Booke

For of suche thynges dyd wee basely
enquire, and demaunde of him, and he
likewise very willingly tolde vs of the
same. But as for monsters, because
they be no newes, of them we were no
thyng inquisittue. For nothyng is more
easie to bee founde. then bee barkynge
Scyllaes, rauenynge Celenes, and Pe-
strigones deuourers of people, a suche
lyke great, and incredible monsters.
But to fynde Citisens ruled by good
and holisome lawes, that is an exceeding
rare, and harde thyng. But as he mar-
ked many sonde, and folishe lawes in
those newe founde landes, so he re-
herfed diuers actes, and constitutions,
whereby these oure Cities, Nations,
Countreys, and Kingdomes may take
example to amende their faultes, enor-
mities and errours. Wherof in another
place (as I sayde) I wpll intreate.
Now at this time I am determined to
reherse onely that he tolde vs of the
maners, customes, lawes, & ordinaun-
ces of the Utopians. But first I wpll
repete oure former communication by
thoccasion, and (as I might saye) the
diste

diste wherof, he was brought into the
mention of that weale publique .
For, when Raphael had very prudent-
ly touched diuers thynges , that be as-
misle, some here, and some there , yea ,
very many on bothe partes, and againe
had spoken of suche wise lawes, & pru-
dente decrees , as be established , and
used , bothe here amonge vs , and also
there amonge theym , as a man so per-
fecte, and experie in the lawes, and cu-
stomes of euery senerall Countrey, as
though into what place soeuer he came
geastw se, there he had ledde al his life:
then Peter muche mervailynge at the
man : Surely maister Raphael (quod
he) I wondre greatly , why you gette
you not into some kinges courte. For
I am sure, there is no Prince liuynge,
that wold not be very glad of you, as a
mā not only hable highly to delite him
with your profounde learnynge , & this
your knowlege of countreys, & peoples ,
but also mete to instructe him with ex-
amples, and helpe him with counsell .
And thus doyng, you shall byng your
selfe in a verpe good case , and also

The first Booke

be of habilitie to helpe all your frendes
& kinsfolke. As concerning my frendes
and kinsfolke (quod he) I passe not
greatly for them. For I thinke I haue
sufficiently doone my parte towards
them already. For these thynges, that
other men doo not departe from, vntill
they be olde and specke, yea, whiche they
be then verie lothe to leaue, when they
canne no longer keepe, those very same
thynges dyd I being not only lustye,
and in good helth, but also in the floure
of my youth, diuide among my frendes
and kinsfolkes, which I thinke with
this my liberalitie ought to holde them
contented, & not to require nor to loke
that besydes this, I shoulde for their
sakes geue my selfe in bondage vnto
Kinges. Nay, God forbid that (quod
Peter) it is notte my mynde that you
shoulde be in bondage to Kynges, but
as a retainour to the at your pleasure.
Whiche surely I thinke is the mightiest
waye that you can deuise howe to be-
stowe your time frutesfully, not onely
for the priuate comoditie of your fren-
des, and for the generall profite of all
sortes

sortes of people, but also for thadvancement
 of your self to a much welthier
 state, and condition, then you be nowe
 in. To a welthier condition (quod Ra-
 phael) by that meanes, that my mynde
 standeth cleane agaynst? Nowe I lyue
 at libertie after myne owne mynde and
 pleasure, whiche I thynke verpe fewe
 of these great states, and pieres of real-
 mes can save. Yea, and there be many
 of them that sue for great mens frende-
 shippes: and therefore thinke it no great
 hurte, if they haue not me, nor. xii. or. xiii.
 suche other as I am. Well, I perceiue
 playnly frende Raphael (quod I) that
 you be desirous neither of richesse, nor
 of power. And truly I haue in no lesse
 reuerence and estimation a mā of your
 mynde, then anye of theim all that bee
 so high in power and authoritie. But
 you shall doo as it becometh you: yea,
 and accordyng to this wisdom, to this
 high and free courage of yours, if you
 can finde in your herte so to appoynt &
 dispose your selfe, that you may applye
 your witte and diligence to the profite
 of the weale publique, though it be

The first Booke

Somewhat to poure owne payne and
hyndraunce. And this shall you neuer
so wel doe, nor wyth so greate profitte
perfourme, as yf you be of some greate
princes counsel, and put into his heade
(as I doubt not but you wyl) honeste
opinions, and vertuous perswasions.
For from the prince, as from a perpe-
tual wel sprynge, comethe amonge
the people the floode of al that is good
or euell. But in you is so perficte lern-
ynge, that withoute anye experience,
and agayne so greate experience, that
wythoute anye lernynge you maye
well be any kinges counsellour. You
be twyle deceaued maister More (quod
he) syt in me, & agayne in the thinge
it selfe. For neither is in me the habilit-
tye that you force vpon me, and yf it
wer neuer so much, yet in disquieting
myne owne quietnes I should nothing
further the weale publique. For first of
all, the mooste parte of all princes haue
more delyte in warlike matters, and
feates of chivalrie (I knowlege wher-
of I neither haue nor desire) than in
the good feates of peace; and employe
much

much more study, how by right or by
wrong to enlarge their dominions, than
howe wel, and peaceable to rule, and
gouerne that they haue alreadie. More-
ouer, they that be counsellours to kin-
ges, euery one of them eyther is of him-
selfe so wise in dede, that he needeth not,
or elles he thinketh himselfe so wise, &
he wil not allowe an other mans coun-
sel, sauing that they do shamefully, and
flatteringly geue assent to the fond and
folishe sayings of certeyn great men
Whose fauours, because they be in high
authoritie with their prince, by assenta-
tion & flatterie they labour to obteyne.
And verily it is naturally geuen to all
men to esteeme their owne inuentions
best. So both the Rauen and the Ape
thinke their owne ponge ones fairest.
Than if a mā in such a cōpany, where
some disdayne and haue despite at o-
ther mens inuētions, and some counte
their owne best, if among suche menne
(I say) a man should bringe furth any
thing, that he hath redde done in ty-
mes passe, or that he hath seene done in
other places: there the hearers, fare as
thought

The first booke

Scriptakers.

Partial iudgements.

though the whole estimation of their
wisdom were in ioperdye to be euer-
throwen, & that euer after thei shoulde
be coulted for verpe deserdes, vnles they
could in other mens inuentions pycke
out matter to reprechend, & find fault at.
If all other pooze helpes layle: then
this is their extreame refuge. These
things (say they) pleased our forefa-
thers and auncestours: wolde God we
coude be so wise as thei were: and as
though thei had wittely concluded the
matter, and with this answere stopped
euery mans mouth, thei sitte downe a-
gaine. As who shoulde sai, it were a ve-
ry dangerous matter, if a man in any
pointe shoulde be founde wiser, then his
forefathers were. And yet bee we con-
tēt to suffre the best & wittiest of their
decrees to lye vnexecuted: but if in any
thing a better ordre might haue ben ta-
ken, then by them was, there we take
fast hold, findyng therein many faultes.
Manye tymes haue I chaunced vpon
such proude, leude, ouerthwarte, and
waywarde iudgements, yea, & once
in England: I pray you *Spz* (quod I)
haus

haue you ben in our countrey? Hea for-
soth (quod he) & there I taried for the
space of.iiii. or. v. monethes together,
not longe after the insurrection, & the
westernne English men made agaynst
their Kyng, which by their owne mis-
erable and pitiful slaughter was sup-
pressed and ended. In the meane season
I was muche bounde and beholdynge
to the right reuerende father, Iohn
Morton, Archebishop and Cardinal of
Canterburp, & at that time also lorde
Chauncelloure of Englande: a man
Master Peter (for Master More
knoweth already that I wyl saye) not
more honorable for his authoritie, then
for his prudence & vertue. He was of
a meane stature, and though stricken in
age, yet bare he his bodie vpright. In
his face did shine such an amiable reue-
rence, as was pleasaunte to beholde,
Gentill in cōmunicatton, yet earnest,
and sage. He had great belite manye
times with roughe speache to his sew-
ters, to proue, but withoute harne,
what prompte witte, and what bolde
spirite were in euery mā. In the which

Cardinal
Morton.

The first booke

as in a vertue much agreinge with his nature, so that therewith were not topped impudency, he toke greate delectation. And the same person, as apte and mete to haue an administratyon in the weale publique, he dyd louigly embrace. In his speche he was fyne, eloquent, and petyche. In the lawe he had profounde knowledge, in witte he was incomparable, and in memory wonderful excellent. These qualittes, which in hym were by nature singular, he by learninge and vse had made perfecte. The Kynge put muche truste in his counsel, the weale publyque also in a maner leaned vnto hym, when I was there. For euen in the chiefe of his youth he was takē from schole into the Courte, and there passed all his tyme in much trouble & busines, being continually tumbled & tossed in the waues of dyuers misfortunes & aduersities. And so by many and greate daungers he lerned the experience of the worlde, whiche so beinge learned can not easily be forgotten. It chaunced on a cerayne daye, when I sate at his table, there

there was also a certayne laye mā cun-
 nyng in the lawes of youre Realme.
 Who, I can not tell wherof takinge
 occasion, began diligētly and earnestly
 to prayse that strapte and rygorous iu-
 stice, which at that tyme was there ex-
 ecuted vpon fellows, who as he sayde,
 were for the moste part .xx. hanged to-
 gether vpon one gallowses. And, sayng
 so fewe escaped punishment, he sayde
 he coulde not chuse, but greatly won-
 der and maruel, howe and by what e-
 uil lucke it shold so come to passe, that
 theues neuertheless were in euery place
 so raffe and so rancke. Naye Sp2 quod
 I (for I durst boldly speake my minde
 before the Cardinal) maruel nothinge
 here at: for this punishment of theues
 passeth the limites of Justice, and
 is also very hurtfull to the weale pu-
 blique. For it is to extreame and cruel
 a punishment for thefte, & yet not suf-
 ficient to refrayne & withhold men fro
 thefte. For simple thefte is not so great
 an offense, that it owght to be punished
 with death. Neither ther is any punish-
 ment so horrible, that it can kepe them
 from

Clashed not
 made accordig
 to equitie.

The first Booke

By what mea-
nes they might
be fewer thes-
es & robbers.

frome stealyng, whiche haue no other
craft, wherby to get their liuing. Ther
fore in this poynte, not you onely, but
also the most part of the world, be like
euill scholemaisters, which be ready-
er to beate, then to teache, their schol-
lers. For great & horrible punishmētes
be appointed for theues. wheras much
rather prouision should haue ben made,
that there were some meanes, where by
they myght get their liuing, so that no
man shoulde be dzyuen to this extreme
necessitie, firste to steale, and then to
dye. Yes (quod he) this matter is wel
prough prouided for already. There
be handy craftes, there is husbandrye
to gette their liuinge by, if they would
not willingly be nought. Nay, quod I,
you shall not scape so: for first of all,
I wyll speake nothyng of them, that
come home oute of the warres, may-
med and lame, as not longe a go, oute
of Blacke heath fielde, and a litell be-
fore that, out of the warres in Fraunce:
suche, I saye, as put their liues in ieo-
perdye for the weale publiques or the
kyniges sake, and by reason of weake-
nesse

nesse & lamenesse be not hable to occu-
 ppe their olde craftes, and be to aged to
 lerne new : of them I wpll speake no-
 thing, forasmuch as warres haue their
 ordinarie recourse. But let vs conside-
 those thinges that chaunce daily before
 our eyes. First there is a great numb-
 re of gentlemē, which can not be content
 to liue idle themselves, lyke doxres, of
 whiche other haue laboured for : their
 tenauntes I meane, whom they polle
 & shauē to the quicke, by reysing their
 rentes (for this onlpe popnte of fruga-
 litie do they vse, men els through their
 lauasse & prodigall spendynge, hable to
 brynge themselfes to verpe beggerpe)
 these gentlemen, I say, do not onlpe liue
 in idlenesse themselves, but also car-
 rpe about with them at their tailes a great
 flocke or traine of idle and loyterynge
 seruynngmen, which neuer learned any
 craft wherby to gette their liuynge.
 These men as sone as their mayster is
 dead, or be sicke themselves, be inconti-
 nent thrust out of doxes. For gentlemē
 hadde rather keepe idle persones, then
 sicke men, & many times the dead mans
 A. b. heyz

Idlenesse the
 mother of
 theues.

Landlordes by
 the wat checke
 ed for Rentes
 raisynge :

Of Idle lars-
 ayng mē come
 theues.

The first booke.

heire is not hable to mainteine so great
a house, and kepe so many seruing men
as his father dōd. Then in the meane
season they that be thus destitute of ser-
uice, either starue for honger, or man-
fullie playe the theues. For what
would you haue thē to do? When they
haue wandred abroad so longe, vntyl
they haue worne threde bare their ap-
parell, & also appaired their helth, then
gentlemē because of their pale and sic-
kely faces, and patched cotes, will not
take them into seruice. And husband-
men dare not set them a worke: Kno-
wynge wel ynowe that he is nothing
mete to doe trewe and fapthful ser-
uice to a poore man wyth a spade and
a mattoke for small wages and hard
fare, whiche beynge deuytely and ten-
derly pampered vp in ydilnes and plea-
sure, was wont with a sworde and a
buckler by hys syde to iette through
the strete with a bragginge loke, and
to thynke hym selfe to good to be
anye mans mate. Naye by saynt Mary
sir (quod the lawier) not so. For this
kinde of men muste we make mooste
of

of. For in them as men of stouter stom-
 macks, bolder spirites, and manlier
 courages then handcraftes men and
 plowmen be, doth consist the whole
 powre, strength, and puiſſaunce of oure
 army, when we must fight in battayle.
 For sothe sir as well you myghte saye
 (quod I) For warres sake you muste
 cheryshe theues. For suerly you shall
 neuer lacke theues, whyles you haue
 thē. No nor theues be not the most fal-
 se and faput harted soldiers, nor souldi-
 ours be not the cowardleste theues: so
 wel thees. ii. craftes agree together.
 But this faulte, though it be much v-
 sed amonge you, yet is it not peculiar
 to you only, but comen also almoste
 to all nations. Yet Fraunce besides
 this is troubled & infected with a much
 sorer plague. The whole royaume is
 fylled and besieged with hired souldi-
 ours in peace tyme (yf that bee peace)
 whiche be brought in vnder the same
 colour and pretense, that hath persua-
 ded you to kepe these ydell scrupnge
 men. For thies wasefooles & verpe ar-
 chedoltes thought the wealth of the
 whole

Betweene sold-
 iers & theues
 small difference

The first Booke

Whole countrey herin to consist, if there were euer in a readinesse a stronge and a sure garrison, specially of old practised souldiours, for they put no trust at all in men vnerexercised. And therfore they must be forced to seke for warre, to the ende they mai euer haue practised souldiours, & cunning māsleiers, lest that (as it is pretely sayde of Salust) their handes & their mindes through idleness or lacke of exercise, shoulde ware dul. But howe pernicious and pestilene a thyng it is to maintayne suche beastes, the Frenche men, by their owne harmes haue learned, and the examples of the Romaynes, Carthaginiens, Sp̄rians, and of manye other countreyes doo manifestly declare. For not onely the Empire, but also the fieldes and Cities of all these, by diuers occasions haue been ouerrunnen & destroyed of their owne armies before hande had in a readinesse. Now how vnnecessary a thyng this is, hereby it maye appeare: that the Frenche souldiours, which from their youth haue ben practised and inured in feates of armes, do not

What incon-
uenientes cometh by con-
tinuall garri-
sons of souldiours.

not cracke nor aduance themselves to
haue very often gotte the vpper hand &
maistrp of your new made and vnprac-
tised souldiours. But in this popnte I
will not vse many woordes, lest per-
chaunce I maye seeme to flatter you.
No nor those same handp crafte men of
yours in Citties, nor yet the rude and
vplandish plowmen of the countrey,
are not supposed to be greatly affrayde
of your gentlemens idle serupngmen,
vnlesse it be suche as be not of body or
stature correspondent to their strength
and courage, ozels whose bolde stomas
kes be discouraged throughe pouertie.
Thus you may see, that it is not to be
feared lest they should be effeminated,
if thei were brought vp in good craftes
and laboursome woorkes, whereby to
gette their limnges, whose stoute and
sturdye bodyes (for gentlemen vouch-
safe to corrupte & spill none but picked
and chosen men) now either by reason
of rest and idlenesse be brought to wea-
kenesse: ozels by to easie and womanly
exercises be made feble, and vnhable to
endure hardnesse. Truly howe so euer
the

The first Booke

the case standeth, thys me thinketh is nothing anapleable to the weale publique, for warre sake, whiche you neuer haue .but when you wyl pour sel-
fes , to kepe and mainteyn an vnume-
rable flocke of that sort of men, that be
so troublesome and noyous in peace,
wherof you ought to haue a thousand
times more regarde, thē of warre. But
yet this is not only the necessary cause
of stealing. There is an other , whych,
as I suppose, is pper & peculiar to you
Englishmen alone. What is that, quod
the Cardinal? forsoth my lord (quod
I) your shepe that were wont to be so
mike and tame, & so smal eaters, now,
as I heare saye, be become so great de-
uourers and so wyld, that they eate
vp, and swallow downe the very men
them selves. They consume, destroe,
& deuoure whole fieldes, howses . and
cities. For looke in what partes of the
realme doth growe the fynest , and
therfore dearest woll, there noble men,
and gentlemen: pea and certeyn Abbot-
tes, holy men no doubt, not contenting
them

English shepe
deuourers of
men.

them selves with the yearely rentures
 and profytes, that were wont to grow
 to thei2 forefathers and predecessours
 of their landes, nor beyng content that
 they live in rest and pleasure nothinge
 profiting, yea much noyinge the weale
 publique: leaue no grounde for tillage,
 thei inclose al into pastures: thei throw
 doune houses: they plucke doune tow-
 nes, and leaue nothing standyng, but
 only the church to to be made a shepe-
 howse. And as though they losse no
 small quantity of grounde by forestes,
 chases, laundes, and parkes, those good
 holly men turne all dwellinge places
 and all glebeland into desolation and
 wildernes. Therfore that on couetous
 and insatiable covaraunte and very
 plague of his natyue contrey maye com-
 passe aboute and inclose many thousand
 akers of grounde to gether within one
 pale or hedge, the husbandmen be thrust
 owte of their owne, or els either by co-
 uerye and fraude, or by violent oppres-
 sion they be put besydes it, or by wronges
 and iniuries thei be so weryed, that
 they be compelled to sell all : by one
 meanes

Shepe mas-
 ters decayers
 of husbandrye.

"The first booke."

meanes therfore or by other, either by
hooke or crooke they muste needes de-
parte awaye, poore, selpe, wretched
soules, men, women, husbands, wiues,
fatherlesse childzen, widowes, wofull
mothers, with their ponge babes, and
their whole household smal in substance,
and muche in numbrie, as husbandrye
requireth manye handes.

Awaye
thei trudge, I say, out of their known
and accustomed houses, fyndynge no
place to reste in. All their household
stuffe, whiche is verpe litle woorthe,
thoughe it myght well abide the sale:
yet beeynge sodainely thruste oute,
they be constrayned to sell it for a thing
of nought. And when they haue wander-
ed abroad tyll that be spent, what can
they then els doo but steale, and then
iustly payd by be hanged, or els go about
a beggynge. And yet then also they be
caste in prison as vagaboundes, because
they go aboute & worke not: whom no
mā wyl set a worke, though thei neuer
so willyngly profre themselves therto.
For one Shephearde or Heardman is
ynoughe to eate vp that grounde with
cattell,

The decaye of
husbandry caus-
eth beggery,
which is the
mother of va-
gaboundes &
theues.

cattel, to the occupieng wherof aboute husbandrye manye handes were requisite. And this is also the cause why vic-
tualles be now in many places dearer. The cause of
dearth of vica-
tualles.

Pea, besides this the price of wolles is
so risen, that poore folkes, which were
wont to worke it, and make cloth there-
of, be nowe hable to bye none at all.

And by this meanes verpe manye be
forced to forsake worke, and to geue the
selues to idelnesse. For after that so
much grounde was inclosed for pasture,
an infinite multitude of shepe dyed of
the rotte, suche vengeance God toke
of their inordinate and vnsaciabie co-
uetousnes, sendinge amonge the shepe
that pestiferous morrein, whiche much
more iustely shoulde haue fallen on the
shepemaisters owne heades. And though
the number of shepe increase neuer so
faste, yet the price falleth not one myte,
because there be so fewe sellers. What sacraue-
niene cometh
of dearth of
wolles.

For they be almooste all comen into a fewe
riche mennes handes, whome no neade
forceth to sell before they lust, and they
luste not before they maye sell as deare
as they luste. Now the same cause bring-
geth

The first booke

Dearth of cat-
tel with the
cause thereof.

geth in like dearth of the other kindes
of cattell, yea and that so much & more,
bicause that after fermes plucked
downe, and husbandry decayed, there is
no man that passethe for the breadynge
of younge stooze. For these riche men
brynge not vp the yongones of greate
cattell as they do lambes. But first they
bie them abroad verie chepe, and after-
ward when they be fatted in their pa-
stures, they sell them agayne excedynge
deare. And therefore (as I suppose) the
whole incommoditie hereof is not yet
felte. For yet they make dearth onely in
those places, where they sell. But whē
they shall fetch them away fro thence
where they be bredde faster then they
can be broughte vp: then shall there al-
so be felte greate dearth, stooze be-
ginning there to faile, where the ware
is boughte. Thus the vnreasonable co-
uctousnes of a few hath turned & thing
to the vtter vndoing of your plande, in
the whiche thyng the cheife felicitie of
your realme did consist. For this greate
dearth of victualles causeth men to
kepe as litle houses, and as smale hospi-
tales

Dearth of vic-
tualles is the
decay of house
keeping, wher-
of ensueth beg-
gerie & thefte.

calitie as they possible make, and to put
away their seruantes: whether, I pray
you, but a beggar: or elles (where
these gentell bloude, and stoute sto-
mackes, will sooner set their mynde
vnto) a stealing? Nowe to amende the
matter, to this wretched begger, and
miserable pouertie is ioyned greate
Wantonnes, importunate superfluitie,
and excessive riote. For not only gen-
tle mennes seruantes, but also handi-
crafe men: yea and almooſte the plough-
men of the countrey, with al other soz-
tes of people, vse muche straunge and
proude newefanglenes in their appa-
rell, and to muche prodigall riote, and
sumptuous fare at their table.

Nowe bawdes, queenes, whoores, har-
lottes, strumpettes, brothelhouses,
kewes, and yet an other kewes wyne-
tauernes, ale houses, and tiplinge hou-
ses, with so manye noughtie, lewde, and
vnlawfull games, as dyce, cardes,
tables, tennis, boules, cotes, do not
all these sende the haunters of them
streyghte a stealing, when theyr mo-
ney is gone? Take oute these perni-

D. 11.

cious

Excessive in appa-
rell and diet
a mainteiner of
beggery and
theft.

Bawdes, whoo-
res, winehan-
des, alehouses,
and vnlawfull
games be very
mothers of
theft.

The first booke

cyous abominations, make a lawe, that they, whiche plucked downe fermes, and towne of husbandrie, shal reedifie them, or els yelde, and vnder the possession therof to suche, as wil go to the cost of buylding them anewe.

Such men as
growers and
forestallers.

Suffer not these riche men to bie vp al, to ingrosse, and forstalle, and with their monopolie to kepe the market alone as please the. Let not so many be brought vp in idelnes, let husbandry and tillage be restored, let clothe workinge be renewed, that ther may be honest labours for this idell sort to passe their tyme in profitablp, whiche hitherto either povertie hath caused to be theues, or elles nowe be either vagabondes, or idel serving men, and shortelpe wilbe theues. Doubtles onles you finde a remedy for these enormities, you shall in vaine aduance your selues of executing iustice vpon fellows. For this iustice is more beautiful in apperaunce, & more flourishing to the shewe, then either iuste or profitable. For by suffering your youthe wantonlie, and viciously to be brought vp, and to be infected, even frome their
cens

The corrupte
education of
youth a mother
of cheuery.

tender age, by litle and litle with vices: then a goddes name to be punished, whē they commit the same faultes after being come to mans state, which frō their youthe they were euer like to do : In this pointe, I praye you, what other thing do you, then make theues, & then punish them? Now as I was thus speaking, the Lawier began to make hym selfe readie to answer, and was determined with him selfe to vse the cōmon fashion, and trade of disputers, whiche be more diligent in reherlinge, then answering, as thinking the memorie worthy of the chief praise. In vnde sir, quod he, you haue said wel, being but a straūger, and one that myghte rather heare some thing of these matters, then haue any exacte or perfecte knowledge of the same, as I wil incōtinent by opē proffe make manifest and plaine. For firste I will reherse in order all that you haue sayde : then I wpll declare wherein you be deceaued, through lacke of knowledge, in all oure fashions, maners & customs: and last of all I will aunswere your arguments, and confute them

D.iii. euerpe

The first booke

He is worthe-
lie put to silence
that is so full
of wordes.

every one. Firſte therefore I will be-
gyne where I prompled . Four
thynges you ſemed to me. Holde your
peace, quod the Cardinall: for it appea-
reth that you will make no ſhorſe an-
ſwere, which make ſuche a beginnyng.
Wherefore at this time you ſhall not
take the paynes to make your an-
ſwere, but kepe it to your nexte mea-
tyng, whiche I woulde be righte glad,
that it might be euen to morrowe next,
onles either you or maſter Raphael
haue any earneſt let. But nowe maſ-
ter Raphael, I woulde verie gladlye
heare of you, why you thinke theſe not
worthe to be puniſhed with deathe, or
what other puniſhement you can de-
uiſe more expedient to the weale publi-
que. For I am ſure you are not of that
minde, that you woulde haue theſe eſ-
cape unpuniſhed. For yf nowe the ex-
treme puniſhement of deathe can not
cauſe them to leaue ſtealinge, then yf
ruſſians and robbers ſhoulde be ſuer of
their lyues: what violence, what feare
were hable to holde their handes from
robbing, whiche woulde take the mi-
tigati:

tigation of the punishment, as a verie
 prouocation to the mischief? Surripe
 my lord, quod I, I thinke it not ryght
 nor iustice, that þe losse of money should
 cause the losse of mans life. For myne
 opinion is, that all the goodes in the
 worlde are not hable to counteruayle
 mans life. But if they would thus say:
 that the breakynge of iustice, & the trans-
 gression of the lawes is recompensed
 with this punishment, and not the losse
 of the money, then why maye not this
 extreme & rigorous iustice wel be called
 plaine iniurie? For so cruell gouer-
 nance, so streite rules, and vniuersall
 lawes be not allowable, that if a small
 offense be committed, by and by the
 sword should be drawen: Nor so stoical
 ordinaunces are to be borne withall, as
 to counte al offenses of suche equalitie,
 that the killing of a man, or the takynge
 of his money fro him were both a mat-
 ter, and the one no more heinous offense
 then the other: betwene the whiche
 two, if we haue anye respecte to equi-
 tie, no similitude or equalitie con-
 sisteth. God commaundeth vs that

That theste
 ought not to be
 punished by
 death.

Straite lawes
 not allowable.

D.iii.

we

The first booke

That mans
law ought not
to be preiudicial
el to gods law.

We shall not kill. And be we then so ha-
ste to kill a man for takinge a litle mo-
ney? And if any man would vnderstande
killing by this comaundement of God,
to be forbidden after no larger wise, the
mans constitutions define killenge to
be lawfull, then why maye it not lyke-
wise by mans constitutions be determi-
ned after what sort whordome, fornication,
and perurie may be lawfull? For
where as by the permission of God, no
man hath power to kil neither himself,
nor yet anye other man: then yf a lawe
made by the consent of men, concerninge
slaughter of men: oughte to be of suche
strength, force, and vertue, that they
which contrarie to the commaundement
of God haue killed those, whom this co-
stitution of man commaunded to be kil-
led, be cleane quite and exempte out of
the bondes and daunger of Gods com-
maundement: shall it not then by this
reason folow, that the power of Gods
commaundemente shall extende no fur-
ther, then mans lawe doeth define, and
permitte? And so shall it come to passe,
that in like maner mans constitutions
in al

in al thinges shal determine how farre
the obseruation of all Gods commaun-
dementes shal extende. To be shorte
Moysses law, though it were vngentle
and sharpe, as a law that was geuen to
bondmen, yea; and them very obstinate,
stubborne, and stiffnecked: yet it puni-
shed theste by the purse, and not wth
death. And let vs not thinke that God
in the newe law of clemencie & mercey,
vnder the whiche he ruleth vs wth fa-
therlie gentlenes, as his deare children
bath geuen vs greater scoupe & licēce to
the executiō of crueltie, one v^{pon} another
Now ye haue heard the reasons where-
by, I am perswaded that this punish-
mēt is vnlawful. Furthermore I thinke
ther is no body that knoweth not, how
vnrasonable, yea; howe pernicious a
thinge it is to the weale publike, that a
thefe & an homicide or murderer, should
suffer equall and like punishment. For
the theste seynge that man, that is con-
dempned for theste in no lesse scoperdie,
nor iudged to no lesse punishment, then
him that is conuicte of manslaughter:
throughe this cogitation ouelpe he is

D. v.

strongly

Theste in the
olde lawe not
punished by
death.

What inconse-
quence ensueth
of punishyng
thefe wth
death.

Punishyng of
thefe by deathe
causeth the
thefe to be a
murderer.

The first booke

strongly and forcible prouoked, and in a maner constrained to kill him, whom els he woulde haue but robbed. For the murder beinge ones done, he is in lesse feare, and in more hope that the deede shall not be betrayed or known, seeinge the partye is now deade, and yode oute of the waye, whiche onely might haue vttered and disclosed it.

But if he chaunce to be taken & discryued: yet he is in no more daunger and leoperdie, then if he had committed but single fellowe. Therefore whiles we go about with suche crueltie to make theues aferd, we prouoke them to kil good men. Now as touchinge this question, what punishmente were more commodious and better: that truelye in my iudgemente is easier to be founde, then

What lawfull punishment may be deuised for theft.

What punishment might be worse. For why should we doubt that to be a good and a profitable waye for the punishmente of offendours, whiche we knowe did in tymes passe so longe please the Romaines, men in the administration of a weale publique mooste experte, politique, and cannyng 2 Suche as amonge

monge them were conuicte of great and heynous trespasses, them they condemned into stone quarries, & into mienes to digge mettalle, there to be kepte in cheynes all the dayes of their life. But as concerning this matter, I allow the ordinaunce of no natio so wel as þ which I sawe, whiles I traualled abroad aboute the worlde, vled in Persia amonge the people that commonly be called the Dolpserites. Whose land is both large and ample, and also well and wittely gouerned: and the people in all conditi- ons free and ruled by their owne lawes, sauinge that they paye a yearlye tribute to the great kinge of Persia.

But bicause they be farre from the sea, compassed and inclosed, almoste rounde aboute with hyghe mountaines, and do content them selues with the frutes of their owne lande, whiche is of it selfe verpe fertile and frutfull: for this cause neither they go to other countreis, nor other come to them. And accordyng to the olde custome of the land, they desire not to enlarge the boundes of their dominions: & those that they haue by reaso

of

howe the Ro-
mayns puni-
shed theste.

A worthy and
commendable
punishment of
theues in the
weale puble-
que of the Do-
lpserites in
Persia.

The first booke

of the highe hilles be easely defended: & the tribute whiche they paye to their chiefe lord and kinge, setteth them quite and free from warfare. Thus their life is commodious rather then gallante, & may better be called happie: or welthy, then notable or famous. For they be not knowne as much, as by name, I suppose saving only to the next neighbours & borderes. They that in this lāde be attainted & conuict of felony, make restitution of that which they stole, to the right owner: and not (as they do in other landes) to the kinge: whome they thinke to haue no more righte to the theifstolen thinge, than the thiefe him selfe hath. But if the thing be losse or made away, then the value of it is payde of the goodes of such offenders, which els remaineth all whole to their wiues, and children. And they them selues be condemned to be common laborers, and, oneles the thefte be verie heinous, they be neither locked in prison, nor fettered in gages, but be vntied and go at large, laboring in the common workes. They that refuse labour, or go slowly & slackly to their

A p[ri]uile n[is]ppe
for them that
do other wise.

Ther is con-
demned to be
comen labour-
ers.

theire worke, be not onelye tied in cheynes, but also pricked forward with strises. But beinge diligente aboute theire worke they liue wout checke or rebuke. Euery night they be called in by name: and be locked in theire chambers. Beside their dayly labour, their life is nothing hard or incommodious. Their fare is indifferēt good, borne at the charges of the weale publike, because they be common seruauntes to the commē wealth. But their charges in all places of the lande is not borne alike. For in some partes that which is bestowed vpon the is gathered of almes. And thoughē that wage be vncertain, yet the people be so full of mercy and pitie, that none is found more profitable or plentiful. In some places certein lādes be appointed hereunto: of the reuenues wherof they be maintained. And in some places euery mā geueth a certein tribute for y^e same vse and purpose. Againe in some partes of the land these seruing men (for so be these dampned persons called) do no common worke, but as euery private man needeth labours, so he cometh into the

Seruing men.

The first booke

the markette place, and there hire the
some of them for meate and drinke, and
a certeine limited waiges by the daye,
sumwhat cheper then he shoulde hire a
free man. It is also lawefull for them
to chastice the flouthe of these seruinge
men with stripes. By this meanes they
neuer lacke worke, and besides the gay-
ninge of their meate and drinke, euery
one of them bringeth dailie some thing
into the common treasourie. All and
euery one of them be apparailled in one
coloure. Their heades be not polled or
shauen, but rounded a lytle aboue the
eares. And the tpype of the one eare is
cut of. Euery one of them maye take
meate and drinke of their frendes, and
also a coate of their owne colloure: but
to receiue money is death, aswell to
the geuer, as to the receiuoure. And no
lesse teoperdie it is for a free man to re-
ceiue moneye of a seruynge manne for
anye maner of cause: and lykewyse for
seruynge men to touche weapons. The
seruynge men of euery seuerall shire be
distincte and knowen frome other by
their seuerall and distincte badges:
whiche

whiche to caste awaye is death: as it is also to be sene oute of the precincte of their owne shire, or to talke with a seruinge man of another shire. And it is no lesse daunger to them, for to intende to runne awaye, then to do it in dede.

An euell intent
esteemed as the
dede.

Yea and to conceal suche an enterpryse in a seruinge man it is death, in a free man seruitude. Of the contrarie parte, to him that openeth and vttereth suche counselles, be decreed large giftes: to a free man a great some of money, to a seruing man freedom: and to them bothe forgiveness and pardone of that they were of counsell in that pretence. So that it can neuer be so good for them to go forwarde in their euill purpose, as by repentaunce to tourne backe. This is the lawe and order in this behalfe, as I haue shewed you. Wherein what humanitie is vsed, howe farre it is frome crueltie, and howe commodious it is, you do plaineely perceaue.

For asmuche as the ende of their wrath and punishmente intendeth nothinge elles, but the destruction of vices, and sauinge of menne: wyth so vsynge, and ordering

The right end
and intent of
punishment.

The first booke

ordering them, that they can not chuse but be good, and what harme so euer they did before, in the residue of theyr life to make amendes for the same.

Moreouer it is so little feared, that they shoulde tourne againe to their vicious conditions, that wayefaringe men wyl for their sauegarde chuse them to theyr gupdes before any other, in every their chaunging and taking new. For if they would committe robbery, they haue nothinge aboute them meate for that purpose. They may touch no weapons: money founde aboute them shoulde betraye the robbery. They shoulde be no sooner taken with the maner, but furthwith they shoulde be punished. Neither they can haue any hope at all to scape awaye by flience. For howe shoulde a man, that in no parte of his apparell is like other men, flye preuelle and vnknown, ones les he woulde runne awaye naked? Howebeit so also flyinge he shoulde be discryued by the roundyng of his heade, and his care marke. But it is a thinge to be doubted, that they wyl laye theyr heddes together, and conspire againste the

the weale publique. No no I warrante you. For the scrupug men of one shire alone coulde neuer hoope to bringe to passe suche an enterpryse, without sollicitinge, entysinge, and allurynge the servinge men of manye other shieres to take their partes. Whiche thinge is to them so impossible, that they maye not asmuch as speake or talke togethers, or salute one an other. No it is not to be thoughte that they woulde make theyr owne countrey men and companions of their counsell in suche a matter, whiche they knowe well should be leopardie to the concealour therof, and great commoditie and goodnes to the opener and detectour of the same. Whereas on the other parte, there is none of them all hopeles or in dispaire to recouer againe his former estate of fredome, by humble obedience, by paciente sufferinge, and by geving good tokens and likelphood of himselfe, that he wpll ever after that, lye like a trewe, and an honest man. For everye yeare diuers of them be restored to their fredome: throughe the commendation of their patiere. Whan

The first booke

I had thus spoken, sayinge moreouer that I coulde see no cause why this orde might not be had in Englande with muche more profyte, then the Justice whiche the lawyer so heighly praysed: Nape, quod the lawier, this coulde neuer be so stablyshed in Englande, but that it must nedes bringe the weale publique into great ieopardie and hasarde. And as he was thus sayinge, he shaked his heade, and made a wrie mouthe, and so he helde his peace. And all that were there present, with one assent agreed to his sayinge. Well, quod the Cardinall, yet it were harde to iudge withoute a proffe, whether this order would do wel here or no. But when the sentence of death is geuen, if than the kinge shoulde commaunde execution to be deferred & spared, and woulde proue this order and fassion: takinge awaye the priuileges of all saintuaries: if then the profe shoulde declare the thinge to be good and profitable, thā it were wel done that it were stablished: Els the condemned and reprieved persons may aswel & as iustly be put to death after this profe, as when they

they were first cast. Neither any icoper-
die can in the meane space growe herof.
Aea, and me thynketh that these vaga-
boundes may very wel be ordered after
the same fashion, against whom we have
hitherto made so manie lawes, and so
litle preuailed. When the Cardinall had
thus saide, than euery man gaue greate
praise to my sayings, whiche a litle be-
fore they had disallowed. But moost of
al was esteemed that which was spoken
of vagaboundes, bicause it was the car-
dinalles owne additton. I can not tell
whether it were best to reherse the com-
municatio that folowed, for it was not
very sad. But yet you shall heare it, for
there was no euil in it, & partlie it par-
teined to the matter before saide. There
chaunced to stand by a certein iesting para-
site, or scoffer, which wold seme to reser-
ble & counterfeit a foole. But he did in
such wise counterfeit, that he was almost
a very same in dede that he labored to re-
presēt: he so studied w wordes & sayings
brought furth so out of time and place
to make sporte and moue laughter, that
he himselte was oftener laughed at the

The mannering
iudgements
of flatterers.

The first booke

his iesses were. Yet the foolish fellowe
brought out now and then such indiffe-
rent and reasonable stuffe, that he made
the prouerbe true, which saith: he that
shoteth oft, at the last shal hit the mark.
So that whē one of the company sayd,
that throughe my cōmunication a good
order was founde for theires, & that the
Cardinal also had wel provided for vag-
gaboundes, so that only remained some
good prouision to be made for them that
through sickness and age were fallen in-
to povertie, & were become so impotent
and vnweidie, that they were not hable
to worke for their liuinge: Tushe (quod
he) let me alone with them: you shall se
me do well enough with thē. For I had
rather then any good, that this kinde of
people were driven sumwher oute of my
sight, they haue so sore troubled me ma-
nye times & ofte, when they haue wpth
their lamentable teares begged money
of me: and yet they coulde neuer to my
mynde so tune their songe, that thereby
they euer got of me one farthinge. For
euer more the one of these two chann-
ced: either that I would not, or els that
I coulde

Sicke, aged,
impotent per-
sons and beg-
gers.

I could not, because I had it not. Therefore now they be wared wise. For when they see me go by, because they will not leese their labour, they let me passe and saye not one worde to me. So they loke for nothinge of me, no in good sothe no more, the yf I were a priest, or a monke. But I will make a lawe, that all these beggers shall be distributed, and bestowed into houses of religion. The men shall be made laye brethren, as they call the, and the women nūnes. Hereat the Cardinal smiled, and allowed it in iest, yea and all the residue in good earnest. But a certeine freate graduate in diuinitie, toke suche pleasure and delite in this ieste of priestes and monkes, that he also berenge elles a man of griske and sterne grauitie, began merlite and wantonpe to ieste and taunt. Naye, quod he, you shall not so be ridde and dispatched of beggers, oneles you make some provision also for vs frears. Why, quod the iester, that is done already, for my lord him selfe set a verpe good order for you, whē he decreed that vagaboundes should be kept straitte, and set to worke: for you

A comen vnder
uerbe amange
beggers.

A mery talke
betwene a
frece and a
foole.

The first booke

be the greatest and veriest vagaboundes
that be. This iest also, when they sawe
the Cardinall not disproue it, euery mā
toke it gladly, laupng ouer the freare.
For he (and that no maruile) beyng
thus touched on the quicke, and hit on
the gaulle, so fret, so fumed, and chafed at
it, and was in such a rage, that he could
not refraine himselfe fro chidinge, (kol-
ding, railing, and reuiling. He called the
fellow ribbalde, villaine, iauel, backbi-
ter, slaunderer, and the childe of perdti-
tion: citing therewith terrible threates
ninges out of holie Scripture. Then
the iestyng scoffer beganne to playe the
scoffer in dede, and verely he was good
at y, for he could play a part in that play
no man better. Patient poure selfe good
maister freare, quod he, and be not an-
grie, for scripture saith: in poure pati-
ence you shall saue your soules. Then
the freare (for I will rehearse his own
very woordes.) No gallous wretche, I
am not angrie (quod he) or at the leaste
wile, I do not sinne: for the Psalmiste
saith, be you angrie, and sinne not. The
the Cardinall spake gently to the freare,
and

Take qualifi-
ed according to
the person that
speaketh

and desired him to quiete himselfe.
 So my lord, quod he, I speak not but of
 a good zeale as I oughte: for holpe men
 had a good zeale. Wherefore it is sayd:
 the zeale of thy house hath eaten me.
 And it is longe in the church. The skor-
 ners of Helizeus, whil's he went vp in-
 to the house of God, felte the zeale of
 the bald, as peradventure this skorning
 bellaine ribaulde shall feele. Pou do it
 (quod the Cardinall) perchaunce of a
 good mynde and affection: but me thin-
 keth pou shoulde do, I can not tell whe-
 ther more holike, certes more wisely, yf
 pou woulde not set poure witte to a foo-
 les witte, and with a foole take in hande
 a foolish contention. No forsoeth my
 lord (quod he) I shoulde not do more
 wysely. For Salomon the wysse saith:
 Answer a foole accordinge to his folye,
 like as I do now, and do shew him the
 pit that he shall fall into, yf he take not
 hede. For if many skorners of Helizeus,
 whiche was but one bald man, felte the
 zeale of the balde, how muche more shall
 one skorne of many feares feele, amonge
 whom

The first booke

Whom he manpe balde int? And we haue
also the popes bulles, whereby all that
mocke & skorne vs be excommunicate, sus-
pended, and acursed. The cardinal, seeing
that none ende would be made, set a waie
the iester by a preup becke, & turned the
cōmunicatiō to an other matter. Short-
ly after, when he was risen from the ta-
ble, he went to heare his sueters, and so
dismissed vs. Looke maister More wpth
how longe & tedious a tale I haue kept
you, whiche surely I woulde haue bene
ashamed to haue done, but that you so
earnestly desired me, and did after such
a sorte geue care vnto it, as though you
would not that any parcel of that com-
munication should be left out. Whiche
thoughe I haue done sumwhat briefely,
yet could I not chuse but reheale it, for
the iudgemente of them, whiche when
they had improved and disallowed my
sayinges, yet incontinent hearynge the
Cardinall allowe them, vpd themsel-
ues also approue the same: so impudent-
ly flattering him, that they wer nothig
ashamed to admitte, yea almoste in good
earnest, his iesters folish inuentions: bi-
cause

cause that he him selfe by smiling at the
 did seme not to disproue them. So that
 hereby you may right wel perceave how
 like the courtiers woulde regarde and
 esteeme me & my sayinges. I ensure you
 maister Raphael, quod I, I toke greete
 delectacion in hearing you: all thinges
 that you salde were spoken so wittilpe
 and so pleasauntly. And me thought me
 selfe to be in the meane time, not onely
 at home in my countrei, but also through
 the pleasaunt remembraunce of the Car
 dinal, in whose house I was broughte
 vp of a childe, to ware a child againe.

And frend Raphael, though I did beare
 vetye greete loue towarde you before,
 yet seenge you do so earnestlye fauoure
 this man, you wyl not beleue howe
 muche my loue towarde you is nowe
 increased. But yet, all this notwithstanding,
 I can by no meanes chaunge my
 mynd, but that I must nedes beleue, that
 you, if you be disposed, and can fynde in
 youte hearte to followe some Princes
 courte, shall with your good counselles
 greatlye helpe and further the common
 wealtke, wherfore there is nothyng

E. v.

more

The first booke

more appertaining to poure dewty, that
is to saie, to the dewtie of a good man.
For where as your Plato iudgeth that
weale publiques shall by this meanes
atteyne perfecte felicitie, epther if philo
sophers be kynges, or elles yf kynges
geue themselves to the studie of Philo
sophie, howe farre I praye you, shall
commen wealthes then be frome thys
felicitie, yf Philosophers wyll vouches
saue to instruct kynges with their good
counsell? They be not so unkinde (quod
he) but they woulde gladye do it, yea,
manye haue done it alreadye in boar
kes that they haue put furthe, if kyng
ges and princes woulde be willinge and
readye to folowe good counsell. But
Plato doubtlesse dyd well foresee, one
lesse kynges themselves woulde applye
their mindes to the studie of Philoso
phie, that elles they woulde neuer tho
roughlye allowe the counsell of Philo
sophers, beyng themselves before euen
from their tender age infected, and cor
rupt with peruerse, and euill opinions.
Whiche thyng Plato hymselfe proued

crewe

trewe in kinge Dionysse. If I shoulde
propose to any kyng wholsome decrees,
dopnge my endeuoure to plucke out of
hys mynde the pernicious originall cau-
ses of vice and noughtines, thinke you
not that I shoulde furthewith either be
driven swaye, or elles made a laughynge
stocke? Well suppose I were with the
frenche kyng, and there syttinge in his
counsell, whiles in that mooste secreete
consultation, the kyng him selfe there
beyng presente in hys owne personne
they beate their braynes, and serche
the verpe bottomes of their wittes to
discusse by what crafte and meanes
the kyng maye styl kepe Myllayne, and
drawe to him againe fugitive Naples,
And then howe to conquere the Vene-
tians, and howe to bringe vnder his iur-
isdiction all Italie, then howe to win
the dominion of Flaunders, Brabant,
and of all Burgundie: with diuers other
landes, whose kingdomes he hath longe
ago in mynd and purpose inuaded. Here
whiles one counselleth to conclude a league
of peace with the Venetians, so longe

The frenches
men prouide de
counseled from
the desire of
Italia.

The first booke

to endure, as shall be thought meete and expedient for their purpose, and to make them also of their counsell, yea, and besides that to geue them part of the pray, whiche afterwarde, when they haue brought theyr purpose about after their owne myndes, they maye requyre and clayme againe. An other thinketh best to hieere the Germanes. An other woulde haue the fauoure of the Swythes wonne with money. An others aduise is to appease the puffed vp power of the Emperours maiestie with golde, as with a moste pleasaunte, and acceptable sacrifice. Whiles an other gyueth counsell to make peace with the kyng of Arragone, and to restore vnto him hys owne kyngedome of Nauarra, as a full assurance of peace. An other commeth in with his fine egges, and aduise to hook in the kyng of Castell with some hope of affinitie or alliance, and to bringe to their parte certeine Fleets of his courte for greate pensions. Whiles they all stape at the chiefeeste doubt of all, what to do in the meane time with Englande, and yet

agree

Lafce knygh,
tes.

agreeth all in this to make peace with the
Englishmen, and with mooste suer and
stronge bandes to bynde that weake
and feable frendeshippe, so that they
muste be called frendes, and hadde in
suspicion as enemyes. And that ther-
fore the Skottes muste be hadde in a
readines, as it were in a standynge, rea-
die at all occasions, in aunter the En-
glishmen shoulde sturre neuer so lytle,
incontinent to set vpon them. And
moreouer prauilie and secretlye (for o-
penlie it maye not be done by the truce
that is taken) prauilie therefore I saye
to make muche of some Biere of Eng-
lande, that is bannished hys countrey,
whiche muste cleime title to the crowne
of the realme, and affirme hym selfe
iuste inherytoure thereof, that by this
subtill meanes they maye holde to
them the kinge, in whome elles they
haue but small truste and affiaunce.
Here I saye, where so great and heyghe
matters be in consultation, where so
manye noble and wyse menne counsell
they; kynge onelie to warre, here yf I
selpe

The first booke

celle man shoulde rise vp and will them
to tourne ouer the leafe, and learne a
newe lesson, sayinge that my counsell is
not to medle with Italy, but to tarpe
still at home, and that the kyngedome
of Fraunce alone is almooſe greater,
then that it maye well be gouerned of
one man: so that the kyng shoulde not
nede to studie howe to gette more:

A notable ex-
ple. and howe
thy to be folo-
wed.

And then shoulde propose vnto them
the decrees of the people that be cal-
led the Archoriens, whiche be situate
ouer agaynste the Ilande of Vtopia on
the southeaste side. These Archoriens
ones made warre in their kinges quar-
rell for to gette him another kingdome,
whiche he laide claime vnto, and auan-
ced hymselfe ryghte inheritioure to the
crown thereof, by the tittle of an olde
alliance. At the last when they had got-
ten it, an sawe that they hadde euen as
muche vexation and trouble in keppinge
it, as they had in gettyng it, and that
either their newe conquered subiectes
by sundry occasions were makinge
daylye insurrections to rebell agaynste
them, or els that other countreys were
con-

continuallie with diuers inrodes and
foragynge inuadynge them : so that
they were euer fighting either for the,
or agaynste them , and neuer coulde
breake bp theiꝝ campes: Scynge them
selues in the meane season pylled and
impouerished: their money caried out
of the realme: their own men killed to
maintaine the glorie of an other nati-
on: When they had no warre, peace nog
thyng better then warre, bp reason
that their people in war had so inured
themselues to corrupte and wicked ma-
ners: that they had taken a delite and
pleasure in robbinge and stealing: that
through manslaughter they had gathe-
red boldnes to mischief: that thier
lawes were had in contempte, and nog
thing set by or regarded: that their king
beyng troubled wpth the charge and
gouernaunce of two kingdomes, could
not nor was not hable perfectlie to dis-
charge his office towarde them both:
seing againe that all these euilles and
troubles were endles: at the laste lapde
their heades together, & like faithfull &
longynge

The first booke

louinge subiectes gaue to their kyng
free choise and libertie to kepe still the
one of these two kingdomes whether he
would:alleginge that he was not hable
to kepe both, and that they were mo the
might well be gouerned of halfe a king:
forasmuche as no man woulde be con-
tent to take him for his mulettour, that
kepeth an other mans moyles besydes
his. So this good prince was consrey-
ned to be content with his olde kyng-
dome, and to geue ouer the newe to one
of his frendes . Who shortly after
was violētlye drituen out. Furthermore
if I shoulde declare vnto them, that all
this busie preparatiō to warre, wher-
by so many nations for his sake shoulde
be broughte into a troublesome hurlet-
burley, when all his coffers were emp-
tyed, his treasures wasted, and his peo-
ple destroyed, should at the lēgth through
some mischance be in vaine and to none
effect: and that therfore it were best for
him to content him selfe with his owne
kingedō of fraunce, as his forfathers and
predecessours did before him: to make
much of it, to enrich it, and to make it as
flow-

flourishing as he could, to endeuoure
him selfe to loue his subiectes, & againe
to be beloued of the, willingly to liue vnder
the, peaceably to gouerne the, and with
other kyngdomes not to medle, seinge
that whiche he hath all redde is euen
proughe for hym, yea and more then
he can wel turne hym to: this myne
aduyse maister More, how thinke you
it would be harde and taken? So God
helpe me not very thankfully, quod
I, wel let vs procede then, quod he.
Suppose that some kyng and his coun-
sel were together whettinge their wit-
tes and deuisinge, what subtell crafte
they myght inuente to enryche the kinge
with greate treasures of money. First
one counsellor to rase and enhaunce
the valuation of money when the kinge
must paye anye: and agayne to calle
downe the value of copie to lesse then
it is worthe, when he muste receiue or
gather any. For thus greate sommes
shalbe payde with a litle money, and
where litle is due muche shalbe recei-
ued. An other counsellor to fayne
warre, that when vnder this colour &

Enhauncynge
and imbalynge
of copie

Counterfayte
warres.

¶

pretence

The first Booke

pretence the kyng hath gathered greate
aboundaunce of money, he maye, when
it shall please him, make peace with
greate solempnitie and holpe ceremo-
nies, to blinde the eyes of the poore
communalte, as taking pitie and com-
passion forsothe vpon mans bloude,
like a louing and a mercifull prince.

The renewing
of old lawes.

An other putteth the kyng in remem-
braunce of certeine olde and moughte-
eaten lawes, that of longe tyme haue
not bene put in execution, whych be-
cause no man can remembre that they
were made, euerie man hath transgres-
sed. The synes of these lawes he coun-
selleth the kyng to require: for there
is no waye so profitable, nor more ho-
norable, as the whiche hath a shewe
and coloure of iustice. An other aduy-
seth him to forbidde manye thinges
vnder greate penalties and fines, spe-
cially suche thinges as is for the peo-
ples profit not be vled, and afterwarde
to dispence for money with the, whych
by this prohibition substeine losse and
dammage. For by this meanes the fa-
uour of the people is wounde, and prof-
ite

Restraintes.

life riseth two wayes. First by takinge
 forsaytes of them whome couetousnes
 of gapes hath brought in daunger of
 this statute, and also by sellinge pri- ^{Selling of li-}
 uileges and licences, wherby the bet- ^{ences}
 ter that the prince is forsothe, the dea-
 rer he selleth them: as one that is lothe
 to graunte to any priuate persone anye
 thinge that is againste the profite of
 his people. And therefore maye sel
 none but at an exceeding dere pryce. An
 other giueth the kynge counsel to en-
 daunger vnto his grace the iudges of
 the Realme, that he maye haue them
 euer on his side, & that they maye in
 euerye matter dispute and reason for
 the kynges right. Yea & further to call
 them into his palace & to require them
 there to argue & discusse his matters in
 his owne presence. So there shalbe no
 matter of his so openlynge wronge and
 iniuste, wherein one or other of them,
 either because he wyl haue sumthinge
 to allege & obiecte or that he is ashamed
 to saye that whiche is sayde alreadye,
 or els to pike a thanke with his prince,
 wil not fynde some hole open to set a

F. 11.

snare

The first Booke

share in, wherewith to take the contrarie parte in a trippe. Thus whiles the Iudges cannot agree amonges themselves, reasoninge and arguing of that which is playne enough, and bringinge the manifest trowthe in doubt: in the meane season the Kinge maye take a fyt occasion to understād the lawe as shal mooste make for his aduantage, wherunto al other for shame, or for feare wil agree. Then the Iudges may be bolde to prenouce on the kynges side. For he that geueth sentēce for the king, cannot be without a good excuse. For it shalbe sufficient for him to haue equitie on his part, or the bare wordes of the lawe, or a wythen & wrested understandinge of the same (or els, whiche with good & iust Iudges is of greater force then all lawes be) the Kynges indisputable prerogative. To conclude, al the counsellours agre and consent together with the ryche Crassus, that no abundāce of gold can be sufficient for a prince, which muste kepe and maynteyne an armie: furthermore that a kyng, though he would, can do nothinge vnjustlye. For
all

The sayng of
riche Crassus.

all that all men haue, yea also the men
thē selves be all his. And that every mā
hath so much of his owne, as y^e kinges
gentilnes hath not taken from hym.

And that it shalbe moſte for the kinges
aduantage, that his ſubiectes haue ve-
ry litle or nothinge in their poſſeſſion,
as whole ſauegarde dothe herein con-
ſiſte, that his people doe not waxe wan-
ton and wealthie through riches and
libertie, becauſe where theſe thinges
be, there men be not wouſe patiently
to obeye harde, vniuſte, and vnlawefull
commaundementes. Where as on the
other part neade & pouertie doth holde
downe and kepe under ſtoute coura-
ges, and maketh them patient perforce,
takinge from them bolde and rebel-
lynge ſtomakes. Here agayne if I
ſhoulde eple vp, and boldelye affirme
that all theſe counſelles be to the kinge
diſhonoure and reproche, whole ho-
noure and ſafetie is more and rather
ſupported and vpholden by the wealth
and ryches of his people, then by his
owne treaſures: and if I ſhould declare
that the cōmynaltie chuſeth their king

The first booke

Monerke the
mother of de-
bate & decay of
realmes.

for their owne sake, & not for his sake:
to the intent, that through his labour
and studie they might al liue wealthy
sauffe from wronges and iniuries: and
that therfore the kynge ought to take
more care for the wealth of his peo-
ple, then for his owne wealth, such as
the office and dewtie of a shephearde
is in that he is a shepherde, to feede his
shepe rather then himselfe. For as to
this, that they thinke the defen-
ce and mapntenaunce of peace to con-
siste in the pouertie of the people, the
thing it selfe sheweth that they be farre
out of the wape. For where shal a man
finde more wrangling, quarelling, bray-
ling, and chiding, then among beggers?
who be more desierous of newe mu-
tations and alterations, then they that
be not content with the present state of
their lyfe? Or finally who be bolder
stomaked to bringe all in a hurlebur-
le (therby trustinge to get some wind
fall) then they that haue nowe nothinge
to lose? And yf anye King were so smal-
ly regarded, and so lightly esteemed, yea
so behated of his subiectes, that
other

other wayes he could not kepe them in awe, but onlpe by open wronges, by pollinge and shauinge, and by bringinge them to beggerie, seuerly it were better for him to forsake his kingedome, then to holde it by this meanes: where- by though the name of a king be kepte, yet the maiestie is lost for it is againste the dignitie of a kyng to haue rule ouer beggers, but rather ouer ryche and welthe men. Of this mynde was the hardie & couragius Fabrice, when he sayde, that he had rather be a ruler of riche men, then be ryche himselfe.

A worthy sal-
ing of Fabrice

And verely one man to liue in pleasure and wealth, whyles all other wepe and smarte for it, that is the parte, not of a kyng, but of a layler. To be shorte as he is a folyshe phisition, that cannot cure his patientes disease, onles he caste him in an other syckenes, so he that cannot amēd the liues of his subiectes, but be taking from them the wealth and cōmoditie of lyfe, he muste nedes graunte that, he knoweth not the feate how to gouerne men. But let him rather amende his owne lyfe,

¶.iii.

renounce

The first booke

Renounce vnhonest pleasures, and forsake pride. For these be the chiefe vices that cause hym to runne in the contempte or hatred of his people. Let him lyue of hys owne, hurtinge no man. Let him doe cost not aboute his power. Let hym restrepne wyckednes. Let hym preuente vices, and take awaye the occasions of offenses by well ordeynge hys subiectes, and not by sufferynge wyckednes to increase afterward to be punished. Let hym not be to hasty in callynge agayne lawes, whiche a custome hath abrogated: specially suche as haue bene longe forgotten, and neuer lacked nor needed. And let hym neuer vnder the cloke and pretence of transgression take suche fynes and forfaytes, as no Judge wyl suffre a private persone to take, as vniuste & full of gyle. Here if I should brynge forth before them the lawe of the Macartens, whiche be not farre distaunt from Utopia: whose kynge the daye of hys coronation is bounde by a solempne othe, that he shall neuer at anye tyme haue in hys treasure aboue a thousande

A dectige and
notable lawe
of the Macar-
tens.

lande pounde of golde or syluer. They
saye a verie good kyng, whiche toke
more care for the wealth & comodite
of his countrey, then the for the rich is
of him selfe, made this lawe to be a stop
and a barre to kinges from heaping and
hording vp so muche money as might
imponer the their people. For he for-
sawe that this sort of treasure woulde
suffice to supporte the kyng in battaile
against his owne people, if they shoulde
chaunce to rebell: and also to maintein
his warres againste the inuasions of
his forreyn enemies. Againe he percei-
ued the same stocke of money to be to
litle and vnsufficient to encourage and
enable him wrongfullie to take away
other mens goodes: whiche was the
chiefe cause whie the lawe was made.
An other cause was this. He thought
that by this prouided his people shoulde
not lacke money, wherewith to manue-
ture their dayly occupieng and chaf-
fayre. And seynge the kyng could
not chese but laye out and bestowe al
that came in aboute the prescript some
of his stocke, he thought he woulde
seke

The first booke.

seke no occasions to doe his subiectes
iniurie. Suche a kynge shalbe feared
of euil men, and loved of good men.
These, and suche other informations,
yf I shoulde vse among men wholpe in-
clined and geuen to the contrarpe part,
how deasse hearers thinke you should
I haue? Drafte hearers douteles (quod
I) And in good faith no marueyle. And
to be plaine with you, truelpe I can
not allowe that suche communication
shalbe vled, or suche counsell geuen,
as you be suere shall neuer be regarded
nor receaued. For howe can so straunge
informations be profitable, or how can
they be beat into their headdes, whose
myndes be alredye preuented: with
cleane contrarpe persuations? This
schole philosophie is not vnpleasante
amonge frendes in familiare communica-
tion, but in the counselles of kinges,
where greate matters be debated and
reasoned with greate authoritpe, these
things haue no place. That is it
whiche I mente (quod he) when I sayde
philosophie hadde no place amonge
kinges. In dede (quod I) this schole phi-
losophie

Schole philo-
sophie in the
consultations
of princes
hath no place.

philosophie hath not: whiche thinketh all
 thinges mete for every place. But there
 is an other philosophie more ciuile,
 whiche knoweth, as ye wolde say, her
 owne stage, and thereafter orderinge
 and behauinge herselfe in the playe
 that she hath in hande, playethe her
 parte accordynge with comlynes,
 utteringe nothinge oute of due or-
 dre and fashion. And this is the
 philosophie that you muste vse. Or
 els whyles a commode of Plautus
 is playinge, and the vyle bondemen
 scoffinge and trespelinge amonge
 them selves, if you shoulde suddenlye
 come vpon the stage in a Philosophers
 apparrell, and reherse oute of Octa-
 via the place wherein Seneca disputeth
 with Nero: had it not bene better for
 you to haue played the donne per-
 sone, then by rehersinge that, whych
 serued neither for the tyme nor place
 to haue made suche a tragycall come-
 dy or gallymalfepe? For by byn-
 ginge in other stuffe that nothinge ap-
 perteyneth to the presente matter, you
 must needs marre and peruert the play
 that

A fine and a
 fitte similis
 rude.

A dāme places

The first booke

that is in hand, though the stiffe that
you bringe be muche better. What part
soeuer you haue taken vpon you, plase
that as wel as you can and make the best
of it: And doe not therefore disturbe
and bringe out of orde the whole mat-
ter, because that an other, whiche is
merger and better cummethe to your
remembraunce. So the case standeth in
a common wealthe, and so it is in the
consultations of Kynge and prynces.
Pfeuel opinions and noughty persua-
sions can not be vtterly and quyte plu-
cked out of their hartes, if you can not
euen as you wolde remedy vices, which
vse and custome hath confirmed: yet for
this cause you must not leaue and for-
sake the common wealthe: you muste
not forsake the shippe in a tempeste, be-
cause you can not rule and kepe downe
the wyndes. No nor you muste not la-
boure to dyspue into their heades newe
and straunge informations, whiche
you knowe wel shalbe nochinge regar-
ded wth them that be of cleane contra-
ry mindes. But you must with a crafty
wile and a subtell trappe studie and
endeuoure

endeuante your selfe, as muche as in
you lyethe, to handle the matter wytte-
lye and handesomelye for the purpose,
and that whiche you can not turne to
good, so to order it that it be not uerye
badde. For it is not possible for al thin-
ges to be well, onles all men were good.
Whych I thinke wil not be yet this
good many yeares. By this meanes
(quod he) nothing elles wyl be brought
to passe, but whyles that I goe aboute
to remedye the madnes of others, I
shoulde be euen as madde as they. For
if I wolde speake thynges that be trewe
I muste needs speake suche thynges:
but as for to speake false thynges, whe-
ther that be a phillosophers parte or no
I can not tel, truelye it is not my part.
Howbeit this communicatiō of mine,
thoughe peraduenture it maye seme vn-
pleasaunte to them, yet can I not see
why it shoulde seme straunge, or folishe
lye befangled. If so be that I shoulde
speake those thynges that Plato say-
eth in his weale publique: or that the
Utopians doe in theires, these thynges
thoughe they were (as they be in dede)
better

The Utopian
weale publia-
que.

The first Booke

better; yet they myghte seme spoken
oute of place. Forasmuche as here a-
monges vs, euerye man hath his pos-
sessions seuerall to him selfe, and there
all thinges be common. But what
was in my communication conteyned,
that mighte not, and oughte not in anye
place to be spoken? Saunge that to
them whiche haue throughe decreed
and determined with them selves to re-
ne hedloughe the contrary waye it can
not be acceptable and plesant, because
it calleth them backe, and sheweth them
the iopardies. Merelye of all thinges
that euil & vitious maners haue cau-
sed to seme inconueniente and noughte
should be refused, as thinges vniuersall &
reprochfull, the we must among Chri-
sten people wyke at the moste parte
of al those thinges, whiche Christ taught
vs, and so strictly forbad the to be win-
ked at, & those thinges also whiche he
whispered in the eares of his disciples he
commaunded to be proclaimed in open hou-
ses. And yet the most parte of the is more
dissident from the maners of the world
nowe a dayes, then my communicati-
on

on was. But preachers like & wisse men
followynge youre counsel (as I sup-
pose) because they saw men euell willing
to frame theyr manners to Christes ru-
le, they haue wrested and wriede his
doctrpne, and like a rule of leade haue
applied it to mennes manners : that
by some meanes at the leaste waye,
they myghte agree together. Whereby
I can not see what good they haue do-
ne: but that men may more sickerly be
euell. And I truelye shoulde preuaile e-
uen as litle in kinges counselles. For
either I muste saye otherwayes then
they saye, and then I were as good to
saye nothynge, or els I muste saye the
same that they saye, and (as Mitio
saith in Terce) helpe to further their
madnes. For that craftye wyle, and sub-
til traine of yours, I can not perceaue
to what purpose it serueth, wherewith
you wolde haue me to study and ende-
uoure my selfe, yf all thinges can not
be made good, yet to handle them wic-
tily and handsomely for the purpose, &
as farre forth as is possible they maye
not be very euell. For there is no place
to

The first Booke

to dissemble in, nor to wicke in. Mough-
tye counsellors muste be openly allowed
and verie pestilent decrees muste be ap-
proved. He shalbe counted worse then a
spye, yea almoste as ruel as a traptour,
that with a faynte harte dothe prayse
ruel and noyesome decrees. Moreover
a man canne have no occasion to doe
good, chaunsinge into the companie of
them, whych wyl soner peruerter a good
man, then be made good them selves:
through whose ruel company he shalbe
marred, or els if he remayne good and
innocent, yet the wickednes and follye
of others shalbe imputed to hym, and
layde in his necke. So that it is impos-
sible with that craftye wyse, & subtel
trayne to turne anye thinge to better.
Wherefore Plato by a goodly simili-
tude declareth, why wise men refraine
to medle in the common wealthe. For
when they see the people swarme in
to the stretes, & daily wet to the skynne
with rayne, and yet can not persuaade
them to goe out of the rayne, and to ta-
ke their houses, knowynge wel, that if
they should goe out to the, they should
nothinge

nothinge preuayle, nor wyne ought by it, but with them be wette also in the raine, they do kepe them selves within their houses, being content that they be lasse them selues, seinge they cannot remedde the follie of the people. Howe be it doubtlesse maister More (to speke truelpe as my mynde geueth me) where possessions be priuate, where money beareth all the stroke, it is harde and almoste impossible that there the weale publique maye iustely be gouerned, and prosperously floreye. Unless you thinke thus: that Iustyce is there executed, where all thinges come into the handes of euell men, or that prosperite there floreyeth, where all is diuided amonge a fewe: whyche fewe neuerthelesse doe not leade their liues very wealthe, and the residue lyue miserably, wretchedly, and beggerly. Wherefore when I consyder with my selfe and wepe in my mynde the wyse, and godly ordinaunces of the Utopians, amonge whome with verie fewe lawes all thinges be so wel and wealthe ordered, that ver-

The first Booke

ture is had in price and estimation, and yet all things being there common, euery man hath aboundance of euery thing. Again on the other part, when I compare with them so many nations euer makinge newe lawes, yet none of them all well and sufficientlpe, furnished with lawes: where euery man calleth that he hath gotten, his owne proper and priuate goodes, where so many newe lawes daylpe made be not sufficiente for euery man to enioye, defend, and knowe from an other mans that whych he calleth his owne: which thinge the infinite controuersies in the lawe, daylpe rysinge, neuer to be ended, playnly declare to be trewe. These thinges (I say) when I consider with me selfe, I holde wel with Plato, and doe nothinge marueille, that he woulde make no lawes for them, that refused those lawes, whereby all men shoulde haue and enioye equal portions of welthes and commodities. For the wise man did easely foresee, this to bee the one and onlpe waye to the weathe of a communitpe, pf equaltpe of all thinges.

Plato wylled
al thinges in a
commune weathe
to be common.

things should be brought in and stablyshed. Whiche I thinke is not possible to be obserued, where euery mans gooddes be proper & peculiere to himselfe. For where euery man vnder certeyne tytles and pretences draweth and plucketh to himselfe as much as he can, so that a fewe deuide among them selves all the whole riches, be there neuer so muche abundaunce and store, there to the residue is lesse lacke and povertye. And for the mosse parte it chaunceth, that this latter sorte is more worthy to enioye that state of wealth, then the other be: because the ryche men be couetous, craftye, and vnprofitable. On the other parte the poore be lowly, simple, and by theire daylye labour more profitable to the common welthe then to them selves. Thus I doe fullye perswade me selfe. that no equall and iuste distributio of things can be made, nor that perfecte wealth shall euer be among men, oules this propriety be exiled & bannished. But so long as it shal continue, so long shal remaine among the most & best part of men the heuy, and inuincible

The first Booke

ble burden of pouerty and wretchednes
whiche, as I graunte that it maye be
sumwhat eased, so I vtterly denye that
it can wholly be takē away. For if there
were a statute made, that no man should
posseſſe aboue a certeine measure of
grounde, and that no man shoulde haue
in his stocke aboue a prescripte and ap-
pointed some of money: if it were by
certein lawes decreed, that neither the
Kinge shoulde be of to greate power,
neither the people to haute & wealthy,
and that offices shoulde not be obtai-
ned by inordinate suite, or by byrbes and
gyftes: that they shoulde neither be
bought nor sold, nor that it shoulde be
nedeful for the officers to be at any cost
or charge in their offices: for so occasi-
on is geuen to theym by fraude and
raush to gather vp their money againe,
and by reason of giftes & bribes the offi-
ces be geuen to rich men, which shoulde
rather haue bene exercised of wise men:
by such lawes I say, like as sicke bodies
that be desperat & past cure, be wont wth
continual good cherishing to be kept and
botched vp for a time: so these euels also
might

might be lightened & mitigated. But if
they may be perfectly cured, & brought to
a good and happy state, it is not to be
hoped for, whiles every man is master of
his owne to him selfe. For if you
goe aboute to doe poure cure of one
parte, you shall make bigger the soze
of an other parte, so the heale of one
causeth anothers harme: forasmuche
as nothinge can be geuen to any
one, onles it be taken from an other.
But I am of a contrary opinion (quod
I) for me thinketh that men shal neuer
there liue wealthe, where all thin-
ges be common. For howe can there be
abundaunce of gooddes, or of any thing,
where every man withdraweth his hande
from labour? Whome the regarde of his
owne gaines driueth not to worke, but
the hope that he hath in other mens tra-
uayles maketh him slowthfull. Then
when they be pricked with pouertie,
and yet no man can by any lawe or right
defend that for his owne, which he hath
gotten with the laboure of his owne
handes, shal not there of necessitie be con-
tinual sedition & bloodshed? Specialllye
G.iii. the

The first booke

the authoritie and reuerence of magistrates beinge taken awaye, whiche, what place it maye haue with such men amonge whome is no difference, I cannot deuise. I maruel not (quod he) that you be of this opiniõ For you conceaue in your minde either none at al, or els a verie false Image and similitude of this thing. But yf you had bene with me in Utopia, and had presentelye sene theire fashions and lawes, as I dyd, whych he liued there. v. yeres, and moore, and wolde neuer haue commen thence, but onelye to make that newe lande knowne here: Then doubtles you wolde graunt, that you neuer sawe people wel ordered, but onelye there. Surely (quod maister Peter) it shalbe harde for you to make me beleue, that there is better order in that newe lande, then is here in these countreys, that wee knowe. For good wittes be as wel here as there: and I thinke oure common wealthes be auncienter than theires: & herein long vse and experience hath found out many thinges commodious for mannes lyfe, besides that manye thinges beare amonge

6.iii.

ence

The first booke

ence within the empire of Rome where
of any profite could rise, but they either
lerned it of these straungers, or els of
them taking occasion to searche for it,
founde it oute. So greate profite was
it to them that euer anye wente thy-
ther from hence. But yf anye like
chaunce before this hath brought anye
man from thence hether, that is as
quyte out of remembraunce, as this al-
so perchauce in time to come shalbe
forgotten, that euer I was there. And
like as they quickelye, almoste at the
first meting, made theire owne, what so-
euer is amonge vs wealthe deuised:
so I suppose it wolde be long before we
wolde receaue anythinge, that amonge
them is better instituted then amonge
vs. And this I suppose is the chiefe
cause whie theire common wealthes
be wyselyer gouerned, and doe flow-
rish in more wealthe, then ours, though
we neither in wytte nor riches be their
inferiours. Therefore gentle Master
Raphael (quod I) I praye you and be-
seche you describe vnto vs the Ilande.
And study not to be shorthe: but declare
largely

largely in order their groundes , their
 riuers , their citie's, theire people, theire
 manners, their ordinaūces, their lawes,
 and to be short al thinges, that you shal
 thinke vs desierous to knowe. And you
 shal thinke vs desierous to know what
 soeuer we knowe not yet. There is no-
 thing (quod he) that I wil doe gladlier.
 For all these thinges I haue freshe in
 mind. But þ matter requireth leasure.
 Let vs go in therfore (quod I) to dīner,
 afterward we wil bestowe the time at
 our pleasure. Content (quod he) be it.
 So we went in and dyed. Whē dinner
 was done, we came into the same place
 again, & sate vs downe vpon the same
 benche, commaunding oure seruauntes
 that no man should trouble vs . Then
 I and Maister Peter Giles desiered
 maister Raphael to performe his pro-
 mise. He therefore seing vs desirous &
 willing to harken to him, when he had
 sit stil and paused a litle while, musīng
 and bethinkinge himselfe , thus he be-
 gan to sprake.

The end of the firste boke.

The

The seconde booke of the cōmunication of Raphael Hythlodaye, concer- nyng the best state of a commō wealtthe conteynynge the discription of Utopia, with a large declaration of the poli- tike gouernement, and of all the good lawes and orders of the same Ilande.

The life and
fashion of the
newe plande
Utopia,



The Iland of Uto-
pia, conteyneth in
breadthe in the mid-
del parte of it (for
there it is broadest)
44 miles. Which
breadthe continueth
throughe the moste
parte of the lande. Sauing that by litle
and litle it commeth in, and waxeth nar-
rower tawardes both the endes. Which
fetching about a circuite or compasse of
44 Miles, do fashion y^e whole Iland
like to y^e new mone. Betwene these two
corners the sea runneth in, diuidyng
them

them a soder by the distaunce. of. xi. miles
 or there aboutes, & there surmounteth
 into a large & wyde sea. which by reaso
 that the land on enery side compasseth it
 about, and shiltreth it fro the wendes,
 is not roughe, nor mounteth not with
 great waues, but almost floweth quiet-
 ly, not muche vnlke a greate standinge
 poble: & maketh welnighe all the spa-
 ce within the bellpe of the lande in ma-
 ner of a hauen: and to the greate com-
 moditie of the inhabitauntes receaueth
 in shippes towardes euerpe parte of
 the lande. The forefrontes or frontiers
 of the. ii. corners, what with fordes and
 shelues, and what with rockes be verpe
 ieoperdous & daungerous. In the mid-
 dle distaunce betwene them bothe stande
 beth vp aboue the water a great rocke,
 which therfore is nothing perillous by
 cause it is in sight. Vpon the top of this
 rocke is a faire & a strong tower builded,
 which they holde with a garrison of men.
 Other rockes there be lyng hidde vnder
 the water, which therfore be daunge-
 rous. The channelles be knowne one-
 ly to theselves. And therfore it seldoine
 chaunceth

A place natura-
 rally fenced &
 derhe but one
 garrison.

The second booke.

A politique
deuise in the
chaunging of
land markes.

The Ilande
of Utopia so
named of king
Utopus.

chaunceth that anye straunger oneles
he be guided by an Utopian can come in
to this hauē. In so muche that they
thēselfes could skaelepe entre withoute
leoperdie, but that theire way is direc-
ted & ruled by certaine lande markes
standing on the shore. By turninge, trans-
latinge, & remouinge thies markes into
other places they maye destroye theire
enemies nauies, be they neuer so many.
The out side or vtter circuite of y^e land
is also ful of hauens, but the landing is
so suerly fenced, what by nature, & what
by workemanshyy of mans hand, that a
fewe defenders maye dyue backe ma-
ny armies. Howbeit as they saie, and
as the fassion of the place it selfe dothe
partely shewe, it was not euer compas-
sed about with the sea. But kyng Uto-
pus, whose name, as cōquerour the Iland
beareth (for before his tyme it was
called Abzara) which also broughte the
rude & wild people to that excellēt per-
fection in al good fassions, humanitpe,
& ciuile gētilnes, wherein they nowe goe
beyond al y^e people of the world: euē at
his firste arryuinge and enteringe vpon
the

the lande, furthwith obteynynge the victorie, caused .xv. myles space of upland by the grounde, where the sea had no passage, to be cut and dygged by.

And so brought the sea rounde aboute the lande. He set to this worke not onely the inhabitauntes of the Ilande (because they should not thinke it done in contumelie and despyte) but also all his owne soldours.

Thus the worke being divided into so greate a numbze of workemen, was with exceedinge marvelous speede dyspatched. In so muche that the borderers, whiche at the firste begā to mocke, and to jeste at this vaine enterpryse, then turned their derision to marueyle at the successe, and to feare.

There be in the Ilande .liiii. large and faire cities, or shiere townes, agreynge all together in one tonge, in lyke manners, institutions, and lawes. They be all set and situate a lyke, and in al poptes fashioned a lyke, as far forth as the place or plotte sufferethe.

Of these cities they that be nighest together be .xxiiii. myles asunder. Againe there is none of them distaunte from the next

Many handes
make light
worke.

Cities in Utopia.

Similitude
causeth concord.

A meane distance
betweene cities
and cities.

The second Booke

nexte aboute one dayes to nepepe a fote.
There com peatly to Amaurote out of
euery cytie. iii. olde men wyse and well
experienced. there to entreate and de-
bate, of the comrad matters of the lād.
For this citie (because it standeth iuste
in the middes of the Ilande, and is
therefore moſte mete for the ambassa-
dours of all partes of the realme) is ta-
ken for the chiefe and heade citye. The
precinctes and boundes of the shieres
be so commodiouſlye appoynted oute,
and ſet fourthe for the cities, that none
of them all hath of anye ſpde leſſe then
xx. myles of grounde, and of ſome ſpde
also muche more, as of that part where
the cities be of farther diſtaunce aſon-
der. None of the cities deſire to enlar-
ge the boundes & limites of theire ſhie-
res. For they counte them ſelfes rather
the good husbandes, then the owners
of theire landes. They haue in the coun-
treyp in all partes of the ſhiere houſes or
fermes builded, wel appointed and fur-
niſhed with all ſortes of instrumentes
and tooles belongynge to husbandrye.
Theſe houſes be inhabited of the cite-
zen

The diſtribu-
tion of landes

But this now
adales is the
grounde of all
miſcheiſe.

Husbandrie &
tillage cheifly
& principally
regarded and
aduaunced.

sens, whiche come thether to dwelle
by course . No howtholde or ferme in
the countrey hath fewer then .xl. perso-
nes men and womē, besydes two bond-
men, whiche be all vnder the rule and
order of the good man, & the good wyfe
of the house, beinge bothe verpe sage,
discrete, and aunciente persones . And
euery .xxx. fermes or families haue one
heade ruler, whiche is called a Phis-
larche, beinge as it were a head baplyffe.
Out of euery one of these families or
fermes commeth euerye yere into the
cittie .xx. persones whiche haue contin-
newed .ij. yeres before in the countrey.
In theire place so manye freshe be sent
thether oute of the cittie, whoe, of them
that haue bene there a yere all readye,
and be therefore expert and conninge in
husbandry, shalbe instructed & taughte.
And they the nexte yere shall teache
other. This order is vsed for feare that
either skarsenes of victualles, or some
other like incōmoditie should chaunce,
throughe lacke of knowledgē : yf they
should be altogether newe, and freshe, &
vnerperts in husbandrie. This maner
and

The second Booke

The duties
of men of hus-
bandrye.

A straunge
fashion in hat-
ching and
bringyng vp
of pulleyne.

The vse of
horses.

and fassion of pearle chaunginge and
renewinge the occupiers of husban-
drye, though it be solempne & customa-
blye vled, to thintent that no man shall
be constrainned againste his wil to con-
tynewe longe in that harde and sharpe
kynde of lyfe, yet manye of them haue
suche a pleasure and delpte in husban-
drye, that they obteyne a longer space
of yeaeres. These husbandmen plowe
and til the ground, and breede by cattel,
& prouide & make ready woode, whych
they carrey to the citie either by lande,
or by water, as they maye mooste con-
ueniently. They brynge by a greate
multitude of pulleyne, and that by a
meruaylouse policie. For the hennes
doe not sette vpon the egges: but by
keeppinge theym in a certayne equall
heate they brynge lyfe into them, and
hatche theym. The chyckens, as sone
as they be come oute of the shel, follow
men and women in steade of the hennes.
They brynge by verye fewe horses: nor
none, but verye scarce ones: and that
for none other vse or purpose, but onely
to exerceise theire yowthe in rydgyng,
and

and feates of armes. For oxen be put
to all the labour of plowng and dra-
winge. Whiche they graunte to be not
so good as horses at a sodeyne brunt,
and (as we saye) at a deade list, but yet
they holde opinion, that oxen wil abide
and suffre muche more labour, payne
and hardnes, then horses wil. And they
thinke that oxen be not in daunger and
subiect vnto so many diseases, and that
they be kepte & mainteyned with muche
lesse coste and charge: and finallye that
they be good for meate, when they be
past labour. They sowe corne onelye
for breade. For their drinke is eyther
wyne made of grapes, or els of apples,
or peares, or els it is cleare water.
And many times meate made of honny
or licouresse sodde in water, for thereof
they hane great store. And though they
knowe certeynlye (for they knowe it
perfectly in dede) howe muche vitayles
the citie wpth the whole countreye or
shire rounde aboute it doeth spende:
yet they sowe muche more corne, and
bryed wth muche more cattell, then ser-
ueth for their owne vse, partlyng the

Bread & drinke.

A great discre-
tion in sowing
of corne.

Th. i.

ouer

The seconde booke

ouerplus among their borderers. What
foruer necessarie thinges be lacking in
the countrey, all suche stuffe they fetch
out of the citie: where without any ex-
change they easely obteyne it of the
magistrates of the citie. For euery mo-
neth manie of them go into the citie on
the holy daye when they harvest day
draweth neare, and is at hande, then the
Philarches, which be the head officers
and bailifes of husbandrie, sende worde
to the magistrates of the citie what nu-
ber of harvest men is needfull to be
lente to them oute of the citie.

Mutual helpe
quickely dispo-
sed.

The
whiche companie of harvest men
beynge readie at the daye
appoynted, almost in one
fayre daye dispatcheth
all the harvest
woorke.

De

Of the cities

and namely of

Amaurote.



For their cities, who so knoweth one of them, knoweth the all: they be al so likene to an other, as farfurthe as the nature of the place permittech. I

will describe therefore to you one or other of them, for it skilleth not greatly which: but which rather then Amaurote? Of them all this is the worthiest and of most dignitie. For the residue knowledg it for the head cite, because there is the counsell house. For to me anpe of them all is better beloued, as wherin I liued five whole yeares together. The cite of Amaurote standeth vpon the side of a lowe hill in fashion almost foure square. For the breadth of it beginnech a litle beneth the toppre of

The description
on of Amaurote
the chiefe
Cite in Utopia.

Th. li.

the

The seconde booke

The description
of the riuer of
Anyder.

the hill, and still continueth by þ space
of two miles, vntill it come to the ry-
uer of Anyder. The length of it, which
lieth by the ryuers spde, is sumwhat
more. The riuer of Anyder riseth four
and twentie myles aboue Amaurote
out of a litle springe. But beyng in-
creased by other smale riuers and broo-
kes that runne into it, and amonge o-
ther two sumwhat byggeb, before the
citie it is halfe a mile broade, and far-
ther broader. And fortie myles beyonde
the citie it falleth into the Ocean sea.
By all that space that liethe betwene
the sea and the citie, and certen myles
also aboue the citie the water ebbeth &
floweth sixe houres together with a
swift tide. When the sea floweth in, for
the length of thirtie miles it filleth all
the Anyder with salte water, and dri-
ueth backe the freche water of the ry-
uer. And sumwhat further it chaigeth
the swetenes of the freche water with
saltnes. But a litle beyonde that the ri-
uer waxeth swete, and runneth forby
the citie freche and pleasaunt. And when
the sea ebbeth, and goeth backe againe,
the

The verie like
in England in
the riuer of
Thamys.

the freshe water foloweth it almooste
even to the verie fal into the sea. Ther
goeth a bridge ouer the river made not
of piles or of timber, but of stonewarke
with gorgeous and substantial arches
at that part of the citie that is farthest
from the sea: to the intent that shippes
maye passe alonge forbie all the side of
the citie without let. They haue also
an other river which in dede is not ve-
rie great. But it runneth gentely and
pleasauntly. For it riseth even oute of
the same hill that the citie standeth vpon,
and runneth downe a slope through
the middes of the citie into Andver.

And because it riseth a litle withoute
the citie, the Amaurotians haue inclo-
sed the head springe of it, with stronge
fences and bulwarkes, and so haue ioy-
ned it to the citie. This is done to the
intente that the water shoulde not be
stopped, nor turned away, or poysoned,
if their enemies should chaunce to come
vpon them. From thence the water is
deriued and conueied downe in cannelis
of bricke diuers wayes into the lower
partes of the citie. Where that cannot

Herein also
doeth London
agre with
Amaurot.

The yle of
freshe water.

The seconde booke

The defence of
towne walles.

be done, by reason that the place wyll not suffer it, there they gather þe raine water in great cisternes, whiche doeth them as good seruite. The cite is compassed aboute with a heighe and thicke stone walle full of turrets and bulwarkes. A drie ditch, but deape, & brode, and ouergrown with bushes, briers, and thornes, goeth aboute thre sides or quarters of the cite. To the fourth side the riuer it selfe serueth for a ditch.

Streets.

Buildings &
houses.

The streets be appointed and set furth very commodious and handsome, both for carriage, and also against the windes. The houses be of faire and gorgeous building, and on the strete side they stande ioyned together in a long rowe through the whole create without any partition or separation. The streets be twentie foote brode. On the backe side of the houses through the whole length of the create, lye large gardens inclosed rounde aboute with the backe part of the creates. Euerie house hath two doores, one into the create, and a posterne doore on the backsyde into the garden. These doores be made with

To every dwelling house a
garden platte
adioyninge.

With two leaues, neuer locked nor bolted, so easie to be opened, that they will followe the least drawing of a fpynger, and shutte againe alone. Who so will, may go in, for there is nothinge within the houses that is priuate, or any mans owne. And euery tenth yere they chaunge their houses by lot. They set great store by their gardens. In them they haue vineyardes, all maner of fruite, herbes, and flowres, so pleasant, so well furnished, and so spynely kepte, that I neuer sawe thynge more frutefull, nor better trimmed in anye place. Their studie and diligence herein commeth non onely of pleasure, but also of a certen strife and contention that is betwene strete and strete, concerning the trimming, husbanding, and furnishing of their gardens: euery man for his owne parte. And verelye you shall not lightelye finde in all the cite anye thinge, that is more commodious, eyther for the profite of the Citizens, or for pleasure. And therefore it maye seme that the first founder of the cite impudged nothing so much, as these gardens.

Plut.

For

This geere
smellerh of
Plato his com-
munitie,

The commodi-
tie of gardens
is commended
also of Wergile

The seconde booke

For they saye that kinge Altopus him selfe, euen at the first beginning appointed, and drew furth the platte fourme of the citie into this fashion and figure that it hath now, but the gallant garnishinge, and the beautifull settinge furth of it, wherunto he sawe that one mannes age would not suffice: that he left to his posteritie. For thet cronicles, whiche they kepe written with all deligente circumspection, conteynnge the historie of. M. vii. C. lx. yeares, eue from the first conquest of the Ilande, recorde and witnesse that the houses in the beginning were very low, and like homely cotages or poore sheppard houses, made at all aduentures of euerpe rude pece of tymber, that came firste to hande, with mudde walles, and ridged roofes, thatched ouer with strawe. But now the houses be curiouslye buylded after a gorgeous and gallante sorte, with three storyes one ouer another. The outsides of the walles be made either of harde spnte, or of plaster, or els of bricke, and the inner sydes be well strengthened w tymber work.

The

The roofes be plaine & flat, couered wth
a certen kinde of plaster that is of no
coste, and yet so tempered that no fyre
can hurt or perishe it, and withstā deth
the violence of the wether better then
any leade. They kepe the winde oute of
their windowes with glasse, for it is
ther much vled, and sombere also with
fine linnen cloth dipped in oyle or am-
bre, and that for two commodities.

Glased or tans-
nated wing
dowes.

For by thys meanes more
lighte commeth in, and
the winde is better
kepte oute.

Of the magistrates.



There be thirtie families
or fermes, chuse them
perely an officer, which
in their olde language
is called the Sypho-
graunte, & by a newer
name the Philarche. Every ten Sypho-
grauntes, with al their thirtie families
be vnder an officer whiche was once
called the Tranibore, nowe the chiefe

v.

Tranibore for
the Utopians

The seconde booke

longe signifi-
eth a head of
chief peeres.
A maruelous
strange fa-
son in chusinge
magistrates.

Tyranny in a
wel ordered
weale publique
breeth to be
abhorred.

States & con-
trouerfies be-
twene parties
partie furth-
with to be en-
ded which now
a daies of a set
purpose be un-
reasonably de-
lated.

Philarche. Moreover as concerninge
the election of the Prince, all the **Sy-**
phograuntes, which be in number. 100.
first be sworne to chuse, him whō they
thinke mooste mete and expediente.

Then by a secrete election, they name
prince one of those. **iiij** whome the peo-
ple before named vnto them. For oute
of the **iiij** quarters of the citie there be
iiij chosen, oute of euery quarter one,
to stande for the election: whiche be
put vp to the counsell. The princes of-
fice continueth all his life tyme, one les
he be deposed or put downe for suspitiō
of tirannie. They chuse the **Tran-**
bores yearly, but lightlie they chaunge
them not. All the other officers be but
for one yeare. The **Tranbores** euery
thyrde daye, and sumtymes, yf neede be,
oftener come into the counsell house
with the prince. Their counsell is
concerninge the common wealtie. If
there be anye controuerfies amonge
the commoners, whiche be verpe fewe,
they dispatch and ende them by and by.
They take euery. **ij**. **Siphograuntes** to
thē in counsel, & euery dai a new counsel.

And

And it is provided, that nothinge Against harte
and rashe de-
crion of statuts.
touchinge the common wealthe shalbe
confirmed and ratified, onlesse it haue

bene reasoned of and debated thre daies
in the counsell, before it be decreed. It
is deathe to haue anpe consultation for
the common wealthe oute of the coun-
sell, or the place of the common electiō.

This statute, they saye, was made to
the entent, that the prince and Tran-
bores might not easlye conspire toge-
ther to appresse the people by tyrannie,
and to chaunge the state of the weale pu-
blik. Therfore matters of great weight
and importance be broughte to the ele-
ctiō house of the Siphograutes, which
open the matter to their families. And
afterwarde, when they haue consulted
amonge themselves, they shew their de-
uise to the counsell. Sometime the mat-
ter is brought before the counsel of the
whole Ilande. Furthermore this cu-
stome also the counsel vseth, to dispute
or reason of no matter the same daie
that it is firste proposed or put furthe,
but to deferre it to the nexte spyttinge
of the counsell. Because that no man

A custome too
thye to be vled
these daies in
our counsels &
parliaments.

when

The seconde booke.

When he hath rashely there spoke that cometh to his tonges ende, shall then afterwarde rather studge for reasons wherwith to defende & mainteine his first folish sentence, than for the comoditie of þe cōmon wealth: as one rather willing the harme or hinderaunce of the weale publike the any losse or diminution of his owne estimation. And as one that would be ashamed (which is a verie folishe shame) to be counted any thing at the first oversene in the matter. Who at the first ought to haue spoken rather wylsele, then haskely, or rashlye.

Of Sciences, Craftes and Occupations.

Husbandrie or tillage pascetled of all estates, which now dayes is relect into a felow of the basest sort.



Husbandrie is a Science common to them all in generall, bothe men and women, wherein they be all experte and cunning. In this they be all instructed

fructe then from their youth: partelie
 in their scholes with traditions and pre-
 ceptes, and partlie in the cōuntry nigh
 the citie, brought vp as it were in play-
 inge, not onely beholding the vse of it,
 but by occasion of exercising their bo-
 dies practising it also. Besides husban-
 drie, whiche (as I saide) is common to
 them all, euery one of them learneth
 one or other several and particular sci-
 ence, as his owne proper craft. That
 is most commonly either clothworking
 in wol or flaxe, or masonrie, or the simi-
 les craft, or the carpenters science. For
 there is none other occupation that a-
 ny number to speake of doth vse there.
 For their garmentes, whiche through-
 out all the Ilande be of one fashion,
 (saunge that there is a difference be-
 twene the mans garmente and the wo-
 mans, betwene the married and the vn-
 married) and this our continueth for e-
 uermore vunchanged, semely and com-
 lie to the eye, no lette to the mōynge
 and woldynge of the bodye, also fytte
 bothe for wynter and summer: as for
 these garmentes (I say) euery familie
 maketh

Sciences or occu-
 pations
 should be lea-
 ned for neces-
 sities sake, and
 not for the
 maintenance
 of glorious es-
 tate and want
 of pleasure.

Similitude in
 apparell.

The seconde booke

No cleyein
without a sci-
ence.

To what ocu-
pation every
one is natural-
ly inclined.
that let him
learne.

maketh their owne. But of the other
foresaide craftes euery man learneth
one. And not onely the me, but also the
women. But the womē, as the weaker
sort, be put to the easer craftes: as to
worke wolle and flaxe. The more la-
boursome sciences be committed to the
men. For the mooste part euery man
is broughte vp in his fathers crafte.
For mooste commonly they be natural-
ly thereto bente and inclined. But yf a
mans minde stande to anye other, he is
by adoption put into a familie of that
occupation, which he doth most fastly.
Whome not onely his father, but also
the magistrates do diligently take to,
that he be put to a discrete and an ho-
nest householder. Yea, and if anye per-
son, when he hath learned one crafte, be
desierous to learne also another, he is
likewyse suffered and permitted.
When he hath learned bothe, he ocu-
piewth whether he wyll: onelesse the
cittie haue more neede of the one, then
of the other. The chiefe and almooste
the onely offyce of the Sypphographyn-
tes is, to see & take hede, that no manne
sit

fit idle: but that euery one applye hys
his owne craft with earnest diligence.

*Itel persones
to be dāuē out
of the wealeyn
blique.*

And yet for all that, not to be wearied
from earlie in the morninge, to late in
the eueninge, with continuall worke,
like labouringe and toplinge beades.

For this is worse then the miserable &
wretched condition of bondemen.

Whiche neuertheles is almoste eue-
rye where the lyfe of workemen and
artificers, sauing in Utopia. For they
diuidenge the daye and the nyghte into
xiii. iude houres, appointe and assigne

*A moderation
in the laboure
and toyle of ar-
tificers.*

onelye sixe of those houres to worke
before noone, vpon the whiche they go
sreighte to diner: and after diner, whē
they haue rested two houres, then they
worke iii. houres & vpon that they go to
supper. About eyghte of the cloke in the
eueninge (counting one of the cloke at
the firste houre after noone) they go to
bedde: eyght houres they geue to slepe.

All the voide time, that is betwene the
houres of worke, slepe, and meate, that
they be suffered to bestowe, euery man
as he liketh best him selfe. Not to thin-
tent that they shold mispend this time

in

The seconde booke

in riot, or slouthfulnes : but beinge
then licensed from the labour of their
owne occupations, to bestow the time
well and thriftelpe vpon some other sci
ence, as shall please them. For it is a
solempne custome there, to haue lectu
res daylye early in the morning, where
to be presente they onely be constrained
that be namelpe chosen and appoynt
ted to learninge. Howbeit a greate
multitude of euery sort of people, both
men and women go to heare lectures,
some one and some an other, as euery
mans nature is inclined. Yet, this not
withstanding, if any man had rather be
stowe this time vpon his owne occupa
tion, (as it channeceth in manye, whose
minde rise not in the contemplation
of any science liberall) he is not letted,
nor prohibited, but is also praysed and
commended, as profitable to the com
mon wealthe. After supper they bestow
one houre in playe: in summer in their
gardes: in winter in their comē halles:
where they dine and suppe. There they
exercise themselves in musike, or els in
honest and wholsome communication.
Dice;

The studie of
good literature

playing after
supper.

Diceplaye, and suche other foliſhe and pernicious games they know not. But they vse. ii. games not much vnlike the cheſſe. The one is the battell of numbers, wherein one numbꝛe ſtealeth awaye another. The other is wherein vices fyghte with vertues, as it were in battell array, or a ſet fyld. In the which game is verpe properly ſhewed, bothe the ſtriſſe and diſcorde that vices haue amonge themſelves, and agayne their vniyte and concord againſte vertues: And alſo what vices be repugnauit to what vertues: with what powꝛe and ſtrength they aſſaile them openly: by what wiles and ſubtelty they aſſaule them ſecretely: with what helpe and aide the vertues reſiſte, and overcome the puiſſaunce of the vices: by what craft they fruſtate their purpoſes: and finally by what ſleight or meanes the one getteth the victory. But here leaſt you be deceaued, one thinge you muſt looke moze narrowly vpon. For ſeing they beſtowe but. vi. houres in woꝛke, perchauce you maye thinke that the lacke of ſome neceſſarye thinges hercof

But nowe as
daies diceplay
is the paſtime
of princes

plaiers of games alſo play
fitable.

The seconde booke

make ensewe. But this is nothinge so.
For that smal time is not only enough
but also to muche for the stoor and a-
bundance of all thinges, that be requi-
site, either for the necessitie, or commo-
ditie of life. The which thinge you al-
so shall perceave, if you wepe and consi-
der with your selves how great a parte
of the people in other contreis lyueth
idle. First almost all women, whiche
be the halfe of the whole numbze: or els
if the women be somewhere occupied,
there most comonlye in their steade the
men be idle. Besydes this how greate,
and howe idle a compaignie is there of
preyestes, and religious men, as they cal
them? put thereto al ryche men, special-
lye all landed men, which comonlye be
called gentylmen, and noble men. Take
into this numbze also theire seruants:
I meane all that flocke of stoute
bragging rushe bucklers. Ioyne to the
also sturdy and valiant beggers, clo-
kinge their idle lyfe vnder the coloure
of some disease or sickenes. And trulye
you shal find the much fewer then you
thought, by whose labour al these thinges

The kyndes &
sortes of ydle
people.
Women.

Priestes and
religiousmen.
Riche men and
landed men.

Servayngmen.

Sturdy and
valiant
beggers.

ges are brought, that in mens affaires
are now daylye vled and frequented.

Nowe consyder with your selfe, of
these fewe that doe worke, how fewe
be occupied in necessarie workes. For
where money beareth all the swinge,
there many vayne and superfluous oc-
cupations must nedes be vled, to serue
only for riotous superfluite, and vnho-
nest pleasure. For the same multitude
that now is occupied in worke, if they
were deuidd into so fewe occupations
as the necessarie vse of nature requi-
reth: in so greate plentye of thinges as
the necessity woulde ensue, doubtles
the prices wolde be to lytle for the arti-
fyers to maynteyne theire liuinges.

Wonderfull
wittely spoken

But yf all these, that be nowe busied
about vnpofitable occupations, with
all the whole flocke of them that lyue
ydellie and slouthfullie, whyche con-
sume and waste euery one of them
more of these thinges that come by o-
ther mens labour, the. if of the worke-
men themselves doo: yf all these (I
saye) were sette to profitable occupa-
tions: you easily perceaue howe

It is,

lytle

The seconde booke

lytle tyme would be enoughe, yea and
to muche to stooze vs with all thinges
that maye be requisite either for neces-
sitye, or for commoditie, yea or for plea-
sure, so that the same pleasure be trewe
and natural. And this in Utopia the
thinge it selfe makethe manifeste and
playne. For there in all the citie, with
the whole contrey, or thiere adioynig
to it scalethe. 500. persons of al y whole
numbre of mē and women, that be nei-
ther to olde, nor to weake to worke, be
licensed and dischargd from labour.
Amonge them be the Siphograutes
(whoe thoughe they be by the lawes
exempte and privileged from labour)
yet they exempte not themselves: to
the intent they may the rather by their
example prouoke other to worke. The
same vacation from labour do they al-
so enioye, to whome the people persua-
ded by the commendation of the pris-
tes, and secrete election of the Siphog-
rautes, haue geuen a perpetual licēce
from labour to learninge. But if any
one of them proue not accordinge to
the expectation and hope of him con-
ceaued,

Not as muche
as the magi-
sters line
idelly.

ceased, he is forthwith plucked backe
to the compay of artificers. And con-
trarie wise, often it chaunceeth that a
handicraftes man doth so earnestly be-
stowe his vacante and spare houres
in learninge, and throughe diligence so
profyteth therein, that he is take fro his
handy occupation, & promoted to the
compay of the learned. Out of this
orde of the learned be chosen ambassa-
dours, prestes, Tranibores, and final-
lye the prince him selfe. Whome they
in theire olde tonge cal Barzanes, and
by a newer name, Adamus. The rest
of the people being neither ydle,
nor yet occupied about vnprofitable ex-
ercises, it may be easely iudged in how
fewe houres how muche good worke
by the may be doone & dispatched, to-
wardes those thinges y I haue spoken
of. This commodity they haue also a-
boue other, y in the most part of neces-
sarie occupations they neede not so
much work, as other nations doe. For
first of all y buildinge or repayringe of
houses asketh euerie where so manye
mens continual labour, bicause y the

Onely learned
men called to
offices.

How to auoid
excessive cost
in building.

The seconde booke

vnthrifty heire suffereth & houses that
his father buylded in contpneuaunce
of tyme to fall in decay. So that which
he myghte haue vpholden with lytle
coste, hys successoure is constrained
to buylde it agayne a newe, to his
greate charge. Yea manye tymes al-
so the howse that stode one man in
muche moneye, another is of so nyce
and soo delicate a mynde, that he set-
teth nothinge by it. And it beinge
neglected, and therefore shortelpe fal-
lynge into ruyne, he buyldeth vpp
another in an other place with no
lesse coste and charge. But amonge
the Utopians, where all thinges bee
sett in a good ordre, and the com-
mon wealthe in a good stape, it ve-
ry seldom chaunceth, that they cheuse
a newe plotte to buyld an house vpon.
And they doo not only finde speedy and
quicke remedies for present faulces: but
also preuent them that be like to fall.
And by this meanes their houses conti-
newe and laste very longe with litle la-
bour and smal reparations: in so much
that this kind of workmen sometimes
haue

haue almost nothinge to doo. But that
 they be cōmaunded to hewe timbre at
 home, and to square and trimme vp sto-
 nes. to the intente that if anye woorke
 chaunce, it may the speedier rise. Now
 Spz in theire apparell, marke (I praye how to lessen
the charge in
apparel.
 you) howe fewe woorkmen they neade.
 Firste of al, whyles they be at woorke,
 they be couered homely with leather
 or skinnes, that will last. vii. yeares.
 When they go furthe abroad they caste
 vpo them a cloke, whych hydeth the o-
 ther homelye apparel. These clookes
 through out the whole Iland be all of
 one coloure, and that is the natural
 coloure of the wul. They therefore do
 not only spend much lesse wullen clothe
 then is spente in other contrets, but
 also the same standeth them in muche
 lesse coste. But lquen clothe is made
 with lesse laboure, and is therefore
 hadde more in vse. But in lquen cloth
 onely whynesse, in wullen onely clen-
 lynes is regarded. As for the smal-
 nesse or finenesse of p threde, that is no
 thinge passed for. And this is the
 cause wherfore in other places. iiii. or v
 clothe

The seconde booke

clothe gownes of diuers coloures, and
as manye silke cootes be not enoughe
for one man. Yea and yf he be of the de-
licate & nyle sorte. &c. be to fewe: where-
as there one garmente wyl serue a
man mooste commenlye. ii. yeres. For
whie shoulde he despyre moo? seinge yf
he had the, he should not be the better
hapte or couered from colde, neither in
his apparel anye whytte the comlyer.
Wherefore, seinge they be all exercy-
sed in profitable occupations, and that
fewe artificers in the same craftes be
sufficente, this is the cause that plen-
tye of all thinges beinge among them,
they doo sometymes bringe forth an
innumerable companie of people to
amend the hyghe wayes, yf anye be bro-
ken. Many times also, when they haue
no suche worke to be occupied aboute,
an open proclamatiō is made, that they
shall bestowe fewer houres in worke.
For the magistrates doe not exercise
theire citizens againste theire willes
in vnnedefull laboures. For whie in
the institution of that weale publique,
this ende is onelye and chieflie preten-
ded

bed and mpynded, that what time maye possibly be spared from the necessarpe occupations and affayres of the com- men wealth, all & the citizeins shoulde withdraue from the bodely seruice to the free libertye of the minde, and gar- nishinge of the same. For herein they suppose the felicitie of this life to consist.

C Of theire liuinge & mutual conuersati- on together.



At nowe will I declare how the citizens vse the selves one towar des and ther: what familiar oc- cupieng and entertepne- ment, there is amonge the people, and what fassid they vse in the distribution of euery thing. Firste the city consisteth of families, the fami- lies most commonlye be made of kinre- des. For the women, when they be ma- rryed at a lawefull age, they goo into theire hushades houses. But the male childre, w al the whole male offspringe

I. v.

continue

The seconde booke.

The numbze
of citizens.

continue still in their owne family & be governed of the eldest and auncientest father, onles he dote for age : for the next to him in age is placed in his towne. But to thintēt y^e prescribe nūber of the citezens shoulde neither decrease, nor aboue measure increase, it is ordeined that no familie which in euery cite be. vi. thousand in the whole, besydes the of the contrey, shall at ones haue fewer childre of the age of. xiiii. yeres or there about the. x. or more then. xvi. for of childre vnder this age no nūbre cā be prescribed or appoited. This measure or nūbre is easely obserued & kept, by putting the that i fuller families be aboue the nūber into families of smaller increase, But if chaūce be that in y^e whole cite the stoor increase aboue the iust nūber, therewith they fil vp y^e lacke of other cities. But if so be y^e the multitude throughout the whole Ilande passe & excede the dewe number, then they chuse out of euery cite certein citezens, & build vp a towne vnder their owne lawes i the next lād where the inhabitautes haue muche waste

waste & vnoccupied ground, receauing
 also of the same countrey people to this,
 if they wil ioyne and dwell with them.
 They thus ioyning & dwelling together
 do easely agree in one fassio of leuing, &
 that to the great wealth of both the peo-
 ples. For they so bringe the matter a-
 bout by their lawes, that the ground
 which before was neither good nor pro-
 fitable for the one nor for the other, is
 nowe sufficiente and fruteful enoughe
 for them both. But if the inhabitant-
 tes of that lande wyl not dwell with
 them to be ordered by their lawes, then
 they dreyue them out of those boundes
 which they haue limited, and apointed
 out for them selues. And if they resiste
 and rebel, then they make warre a-
 gainst them. For they counte this the
 moste iuste cause of warre, when anye
 people holde the a piece of grounde
 vopde and vacaunt to no good nor pro-
 fitable vse, keppng other from the vse
 and possession of it, whiche notwith-
 standng by the lawe of nature ought
 thereof to be nourished & relieved. If
 anye chaunce do so muche diminishe
 the

The seconde booke.

the number of any of theire cities, that
it cannot be fylled vp agayne, without
the diminishynge of the iust numbze of
the other cyties (whiche they say chaſ-
ced but twyle ſpnce the beginnyng of
the lande throughe a greate peſtilente
plage) then they fulfyll and make vp
the numbze with cytezens fetched out
of theire owne forreigne towneſ, for
they had rather ſuffer theire forreigne
towneſ to decaye and perſhe, then any
cytie of theire owne Ilande to be
diminiſhed. But nowe agayne to the
conuerſation of the cytezens amonge
themſelves. The eldeſte (as I ſayde)
rulethe the familie. The wyfes bee
miniſters to theire huſbandes, the
children to theire parentes, and to bee
ſhorte the yonger to theire elders. Eue-
rye Cytie is deuided into foure equall
partes or quarters. In the myddes of
euery quarter there is a market place
of all maner of thinges. Whether the
workes of euery familie be brought in-
to certeyne houſes. And euery kynde
of thing is layde vp ſeuercall in berneſ
or ſtoze houſes, From hence the father
of

So might we
well be diſchar-
ged and eaſed
of the ydle co-
pany of ſer-
vyngmen.

of euery familpe, or euery houtholder
 fetchethe whatsoeuer he and his haue
 neade of, and carieth it alway with him
 without money, without exchaunge,
 without any gage, payne, or pledge.
 For whpe shoulde any thing be denped
 vnto him? seynge there is abundaunce
 of all thinges, and that it is not to bee
 feared, lestt anye man wyl aske more
 then he neadeth. For whie should it be
 thoughte that that man woulde aske
 more then anough, which is seuer ne
 uer to lacke? Certeynely in all kyndes
 of lyuinge creatures either feare of
 lacke dothe cause couetousnes and ra-
 upne, or in man only pryde, which coun-
 teth it a glorious thinge to passe and ex-
 cel other in the superfluous and vayne
 ostentation of thinges. The whiche
 kynde of vice amonge the Utopians
 can haue no place. Nexte to the market
 places that I spake of, stande meate
 markettes: whether be brought not on-
 ly all sortes of herbes, and the frutes
 of trees, with bryade, but also fishe, &
 all maner of.iiii. footed beastes, and
 wilde foule that be mans meate. But

The cause of
 couetous and
 exortion.

firste

The second Booke

first the fylthynges and ordure therof be
cleane washed awaye in the renninge
ryuer without the cytie in places ap-
pointed mete for the same purpose.

From thence the beastes be brought in
kylled, and cleane washed by the han-
des of theire bondemen. For they per-
mitte not their frie citizens to accu-
some them selves to the killing of bea-
stes, through the vse whereof they thin-
ke, clemence the gentleste affection

Of the slaugh-
ter of beastes
we have lear-
ned manslaughter.
ter.

Fylth & ordure
bring the in-
fection of pe-
stilence into
Cyties.

of oure nature by lytle and lytle to de-
cay and perishe. Neither they suffer
anye thinge that is fylthye, lothesom,
or vnclenlye, to be broughte into the
cytie, least the ayre by the stynche ther-
of infected and corrupte, shoulde cause
pestilente diseases. Moreover euerye
strete hath certeyne great large halles
set in equal distaunce one from ano-
ther, euerye one knowne by a generall
name. In these halles dwell the Spe-
phogranates. And to euerye one of the-
same halles be appointed .xxx. families,
on either side. xv. The stewardes of eue-
rye halle at a certayne houre come in
to the meate markettes, where they re-
ceyue

repue meate accordinge to the number
 of their halles. But first and chieflie of
 all respect is had to the sycke, that be <sup>Care, "diligence
and attendace;"</sup> cured in the hospitalles. For in the cir-
 cutte of the citie, a litle without y^e wal-
 les, they haue .iiii. hospitalles, so bigge
 so wyde, so ample, & so large, that they
 may seme .iij. litle towines, which were
 deuised of y^e bigges partely to thintent
 the sycke, be they neuer so many in nū-
 bre, shuld not lye to thronge or strapte,
 and therfore vneasely, & incōmodious-
 ly: & partely that they which were ta-
 ken & holden with contagious disea-
 ses, suche as be wonte by infection to
 crepe from one to an other, myght be
 layde a part farre from the cōpany of y^e
 residue. These hospitalles be so wel ap-
 pointed, and with al thinges necessary
 to health so furnished, & more ouer so
 diligēt attēdaūce through the cōtinual
 presence of cūning phisicians is geuen,
 that though no man be sent thether a-
 gainst his will, yet notwithstandinge
 there is no sicke persone in al the citie,
 that had not rather lye there, thē at ho-
 me in his owne house, vpon the Ste-
 warde

The second Booke

Warde of the sicke hath receiued suche meates as the phisicians haue prescribed, then the beste is equallie deuided among the halles, according to the company of euery one, sauing that there is had a respect to the prince, the byshop, the trantours, and to ambassadours & all straungers, if there be any, which be verpe fewe and seldome. But they also when they be there, haue certeyne seuerall houses appointed and prepared for the. To these halles at y set houres of dinner & supper cometh all the whole Siphograutic or warde, warned by y noyse of a brasse trumpet: except suche as be sicke in y hospitalles, or els in their owne houses. Nowbeit no man is prohibited or forbid, after the halles be serued, to fetch home meate out of y market to his own house, for they knowe that no man wyl doe it without a cause reasonable. for though he no man be prohibited to dyne at home, yet no man doth it willyngly: because it is counted a pointe of smal honestie. And also it were a follie to take the payne to dresse a badde diner at home, whē they

in age

Every man is
at his libertie,
so that nothing
is done by
compulsion.

may be welcome to good and fyne fare
 so neighe hande at the hall. In this hal
 al vile seruice, all flauery, and drudge-
 rie, with all laboursome toyle, & base *women bothe*
 busines is done by bondemen. But the *dresse & seru*
 women of euery family by course haue *the meate*
 the office and charge of cookerie for se-
 thinge and dresseinge the meate, and or-
 deringe all thinges therto belongyng.
 They sit at thre tables or moe, accor-
 dinge to the numbry of their company.
 The men sitte vpon the bench next the
 wall, and the women againste them on
 the other side of the table, that yf anye
 sodayne euill should chaunce to them,
 as manye tymes happeneth to women
 with chylde, they maye rise wythoute
 trouble or disturbaunce of anye bodie,
 and go thence into the nurserie. The
 nurcys sitte seuerall alone with theyr *Nurcys*
 younge suckelinges in a certayne par-
 loure appointed & deputed to the same
 purpose, neuer wythoute fire & cleane
 water, nor yet wout cradels, that whē
 they wpll they maye laye downe the
 younge infantes, and at theyr pleasure
 take them oute of their swatheinge cloz
 R. i. t h s s

The seconde booke

thes, and holde them to the fire, and
refrethe them with playe. Every mo-
ther is nource to her owne childe, on-
les either death, or specknes be the let.
When that chaunceth, the wiues of
the Syphograuntes quykelye pro-
uide a nource. And that is not harde
to be done. For they that can doo it,
profer theselues to no seruice so glad-
lye as to that. Because that there this
kinde of pitte is muche praysed: and
the chylde that is nourished, ever after
taketh his nource for his owne natu-
rall mother. Also amonge the nour-
ces, sette all the children that be vnder
the age of v. yeres. All the other chyl-
dren of bothe kyndes, as well boyes as
gyrlles, that be vnder the age of mary-
age, do eyther serue at the tables, or els
if they be to yonge thereto, yet they stand
by with maruailous silence. That
whiche is geuen to them from the table
they eate, and other seuerall dynner
tyme they haue none. The Sypho-
graunte and his wife sitte in the myd-
des of the high table, forasmuch as that
is counted the honorablest place, and
because

Nothing sooner
prouoketh men
to well doyng
then praise and
comendation.

The education
of yonge chil-
dren.

because from thence all the whole com-
 pany is in their sight. For that table
 standeth ouer wharte the ouer ende of
 the hall To them be toged two of the
 auncientest and eldest. For at euery
 table they sit foure at a meesse. But yf
 there be a church stāding in y^e Sypho-
 grauntie or warde, then the priest and
 his wife sitteth with the Syphograūt,
 as chiefe in the cōpany. On both sydes
 of them sit yonge men, and nexte vnto
 thē againe olde men. And thus throug-
 out all the house equall of age be sette
 together, & yet be mixt & matched with
 vnequal ages. This, they say, was or-
 depned, to the intent that the sage gra-
 uitie and reuerēce of the elders should
 kepe the yongers from wanton licence
 of wordes and behauioure. Forasmuch
 as nothyng can be so secretly spoken
 or done at the table, but either they
 that sit on the one side or on the other
 muste nedes perceaue it. The dishes be
 not set down in order frō the first place
 but all the olde men (whose places be
 marked with some speciall token to be
 knowē) be first serued of their meate, &

The yong mis-
 ed with these,
 elders.

Olde men res-
 garded and res-
 uerenced.

R. ii.

then

The seconde booke

thes, and holde them to the fire, and
refrethe them with playe. Euery mo-
ther is nource to her owne childe, on-
les either death, or sickness be the let.
When that chaunceth, the wiues of
the Syphogranites quykelye pro-
uide a nource. And that is not harde
to be done. For they that can doo it,
profer themselues to no seruice so glad-
lye as to that. Because that there thes
kinde of pitte is muche praysed: and
the chylde that is nourished, euer after
taketh his nource for his owne natu-
rall mother. Also amonge the nour-
ces, sette all the children that be vnder
the age of v. yeres. All the other chyl-
dren of bothe kyndes, as well boyes as
gyrlles, that be vnder the age of mary-
age, do eyther serue at the tables, or els
if they be to yonge thereto, yet they stand
by with maruailous silence. That
whiche is geuen to them from the table
they eate, and other seuerall dynner
tyme they haue none. The Sypho-
graunte and his wife sitte in the myd-
des of the high table, forasmuch as that
is counted the honorablest place, and
because

Nothing soner
prouoketh men
to well doyng
then praise and
comendation.

The education
of yonge chil-
dren.

because from thence all the whole com-
 paigne is in their sight. For that table
 standeth ouer wharte the ouer ende of
 the hall. To them be assigned two of the
 auncientest and eldest. For at euery
 table they sit foure at a meesse. But if
 there be a church standing in y^e Sypho-
 grauntie or warde, then the priest and
 his wife sitteth with the Syphograit,
 as chiefe in the cōpany. On both sides
 of them sit yonge men, and nexte vnto
 the againe olde men. And thus though
 out all the house equall of age be sette
 together, & yet be mixt & matched with
 vnequal ages. This, they say, was or-
 depned, to the intent that the sage gra-
 uitie and reuerence of the elders should
 kepe the yongers from wanton licence
 of wordes and behauioure. Forasmuch
 as nothyng can be so secretly spoken
 or done at the table, but either they
 that sit on the one side or on the other
 muste nedes perceaue it. The dishes be
 not set down in order fro the first place
 but all the olde men (whose places be
 marked with some speciall token to be
 knowen) be first serued of their meate, &

The yong mis-
 ed with these
 elders.

Olde men res-
 garded and re-
 uerenced.

R. ii.

then

The seconde booke

then the residue equally. The old men deuide their, deinties as they think best to the yonger on eche syde of them.

Thus the elders be not defrauded of their due honoure, and neuertheless equall comoditie cometh to euery one.

This nowwe
advice is ob-
serued in oure
vniuersities.

Talk at the
table.

This is repug-
nant to the
opinion of our
philosophers.

They begin euery dinner & supper of redyng sumthing y^e pertaineth to good maners & vertue. But it is shorte, because no man shalbe greued therewith. Hereof the elders take occasion of honest communication, but neither sadde nor vnplesant. Howbeit they do not spende all the whole dinnertime themselves with longe and tedious talkes: but they gladly heare also the yonger men: yea, and purpose to prouoke them to talke, to the intent that they may haue a proofe of euery mans wit, & towardnes, or disposition to vertue, which cometh in the libertie of feasting doth shew and vtter it self. Their dinners be verie shorte: but their suppers be somewhat longer, because that after dynner foloweth labour, after supper slepe and natural rest, whiche they thinke to be of more strength and efficacy to wholsome and healthful

healthfull digestion. No supper is pas^{ed} ^{at the} without musick. ^{table.} Nor their ban-
 kettes lacke no conceptes nor tonketes.
 They burne swete gummes and spices
 of perfumes, and pleasa^{nt} smells, and
 sprinkle aboute swete opntementes &
 waters, yea, they leaue nothing vndone
 that maketh for the cheringe of the co-
 panye. For they be muche enclined to
 this opinion: to thinke no kinde of plea-
 sure forbydden, whereof cometh no
 harme. Thus therfore and after this ^{pleasure with}
 sort they liue together in the cite, but ^{out harme nor}
 in the countrey they that dwell alone ^{discommedable.}
 farre from any neighbours, do dyne &
 suppe at home in their owne houses.
 For no familie there lacketh any kinde
 of victualles, as from whom com-
 meth all that the cetezens
 eate and lyue by.

k.iii.

De

The seconde booke

Of their iourneyng or
trauayling abrode, with diuers
other matters cunninglye rea-
soned, and wyttilye
discussed,

But if any be desierous
to visite either theyr
freendes dwelling in an
other citie, or to see the
place it selfe: they easi-
lye obteyne licence of
their Siphograuntes
and Traniboies, onlesse there be some
profitable let. No man goeth out alone
but a companie is sente furth together
with their princes letters, which do te-
stifie that they haue licence to go that
iourney, and prescribeth also the day of
their retourne. They haue a wageyn
geuen them, with a common bondman,
whiche driueth the oren, & taketh charge
of them. But onles they haue women
in their companie, they sende home the
wageyn againe, as an impediment and
a let. And though they carpe nothyng
furth with them, yet in all their iorney
they

they lack nothing. For whersoever they come, they be at home. If they tary in a place longer then one daye, thā there euerp one of thē falleth to his owne occupation, & be verp gētilly entertained of the workemē & cōpanies of the same craftes. If any man of his owne heade & without leaue, walke out of his precinct & bolides, takē without the princes letters, he is broughte againe for a fugitive or a runaway wth great shame & rebuke, & is sharpely punished. If he be takē in that fault againe, he is punished with bōdage. If anpe be desirous to walke abroad into the feldes, or into the cōūtrey y^e belongeth to the same citie that he dwelleth in, obtaininge the good wil of his father, & the cōsente of his wife, he is not prohibited. But into what part of y^e cōtrei soever he cometh he hath no meat gēnē him until he have wrought out his forenones taske, or dispatched so muche work, as there is wōt to be wrought before supper. Observing this law & cōditiō, he may go wher he wil wthin the bolides of his own citie. For he shalbe no les pfitable to y^e

k. iiii. citie

The seconde booke

Wholy comming
wealth, and of
Christians to
be followed.

Equalitie is
the cause that
every mā hath
enough.

little, the if he were within it. Now you
see how little libertie they haue to loiter:
howe they can haue no cloke or pretence
to ydlenes. There be neither wineta-
uernes, nor ale houses, nor stews, nor
anye occasion of vice or wickednes, no
lurkinge corners, no places of wicked
counsels or vnlawfull assemblies. But
they be in the present sighte, and vnder
the eyes of every man. So that of neces-
sitie they must either apply their accu-
stomed labours, or els recreate themsel-
ues with honest & laudable pastimes.
This fashion & trade of life, being vled
amonge the people, it cannot be chosen,
but that they muste of necessitie haue
store and plentie of all thinges. And see-
ing they be all therof parteners equal-
lie, therefore can no man there be poore
or needie. In the counsell of Amaurot,
whether, as I said, every citie sendeth
three men a pece yearly, asone as it is
perfectly knowen of what thinges there
is in every place plentie, & againe what
thinges be skant in any place: incontinēt
the lacke of the one is perfourmed and
filled vp wth the aboundaunce of the o-
ther

ther. And this they do frely without a-
nye benefite, taking nothing againe of
the, to whō þ̄ things is geue, but those
citties that haue geuen of their store to
any other citie that lacketh, requiring
nothing againe of þ̄ same citie, do take
suche thinges as they lacke of an other
cittie, to the which they gaue nothinge.

A common
wealth is no-
thing elles but
a great house-
hold.

So the whole plande is as it were one
familie, or houtholde. But when they
haue made sufficient prouision of store
for themselves (which they thinke not
done, vntil they haue prouided for two
yeres folowinge, because of the vncer-
tentie of the next yeres proffe) then of
those thinges, whereof they haue abun-
dance, they carie furth into other coun-
treis great plentie: as grapne, honnie,
wulle, flaxe, woode, madder, purple dy-
ed felles, ware, tallowe, lether, and ly-
uinge beastes. And the seuench parte of

The traffique
and marchaun-
dise of the Uto-
pians.

all these thynges they geue franchelye
and frelie to the pore of that countrey.
The residue they sell at a reasonable
and meane price. By this trade of traf-
fique or marchaundise, they bring into
their own countrey, not only great plēty

of

The seconde booke

of golde and silver, but also all suche thynges as they lacke at home, whiche is almoste nothinge but Iron. And by reason they haue longe vsed this trade, nowe they haue more aboundaunce of these thynges, then anye man wyl be leue. Nowe therfore they care not whether they sell for readye money, or els vpon truste to be payed at a daye, and to haue the mooste parte in debtes.

In all thynges
and aboue all
thynges to their
continuall they
haue an eye.

But in so doyng they neuer followe the credence of priuat men: but the assurance or warrauntise of the whole cite, by instrumentes & writings made in that behalfe accordingly. When the daye of paiement is come and expired, the cite gathereth vp the debte of the priuate debtours, & putteth it into the common bore, and so longe hath the vse and profite of it, vntill the Uroplians their creditours demaunde it. The mooste parte of it they neuer aske. For

By what polli
cie money may
be in lesse esti
mation

that thyng whiche is to them no profite to take it from other, to whom it is profitable: they thinke it no righte nor conscience. But if the case so stand, that they must lende part of that money to
an

an other people , then they require
 thep? debte: or when they haue warre.
 For the whiche purpose onelpe they
 kepe at home all the treasure, whiche
 they haue , to be holpen and socoured
 by it either in extreame leopardes , or
 in suddeine daungers. But especiallpe
 and chiefe lie to hire therewith , and
 that for vnrasonable greete waggis,
 straunge soldours. For they hadde ra-
 ther put straungers in leopardie, then
 thep? owne countreyemen ; knowynge
 that for money ynoughe, their enemyes
 theselues many times may be boughte
 and solde, or elles throughe treason be
 sette together by the eares amonge
 themselves. For this cause they kepe
 an inestimable treasure. But yet not
 as a treasure: but so they haue it, & vse
 it, as in good saythe I am ashamed to
 shewe: fearinge that my wordes shall
 not be beleued. And this I haue more
 cause to feare, for that I knowe howe
 difficultlie and hardelpe I meselfe
 would haue beleued an other man tel-
 linge the same, if I hadde not present-
 lpe sene it with mine owne eyes.

It is better es-
 ther with mo-
 ney or by polli-
 cie to adoyde
 warre, then
 with muche
 losse of mans
 bloud to fight.

O fine wyte.

For

The seconde booke

For it muste needs be, that howe farre a thynge is dissonant and disagreeing from the guile and trade of the hearers, so farre shall it be out of their belefe.

Howbeit, a wise and indifferent estimator of thynges, will not greatly marvelle perchauce, seynge all theyr other lawes and customes do so much differre from oures, yf the vse also of gold and syluer amonge them be applied, rather to their owne fashyons, than to oures. I meane in that they occupie not money themselves, but kepe it for that chaunce, whiche as it maye happē, so it maye be, that it shall neuer come to passe. In the meane tyme golde and syluer, whereof money is made, they do so vse, as none of them doethe more esteeme it, then the verie nature of the thinge deserueth. And then who doeth not playnele se howe farre it is vnder Iron: as without the whiche men can no better lyue then without fiere and water. Whereas to golde and syluer nature hath geuen no vse, that we may not well lacke: if that the follye of men hadde not sette it in higher estimation for

Golde waste
then yron as
touchynge the
necessarie vse
therof.

for the rarenesse sake . But of the contrarie parte, nature as a mooste tender and loupnge mother, hathe placed the beste and mooste necessarie thinges open abroade: as the ayre, the water, and the yearth it selfe . And hathe removed and byd farthest from vs vayne and vnprofitable thinges. Therefore if these metalles amonge them shoulde be faste locked vp in some tower, it might be suspected, that the prince and the counsell (as the people is euer foolishelie ymagininge) intended by some subtiltie to deceaue the commons, and to take some profite of it to themselves. Furthermore if they shold make ther^e of plate and such other finelie and cunninglie wroughte stuffe: if at anye time they should haue occasion to breake it: and melte it againe, therewith to paye their souldiers wages, they see and perceaue verie well, that men woulde be lothe to parte from those thinges, that they ones begonne to haue pleasure & delite in. To remedie all this they haue founde oute a meanes, whiche, as it is agreable to all their other lawes and

cu:

The seconde booke

customs, so it is frō ours, where golde
is so much set by, and so diligētly kept,
very farre discrepant and repugnaunt:
and therefore incredible, but onely to
them that be wise. For where as they
eate and drinke in earthen & glasse ves-
sels, whiche in dede be curiously and
properly made, and yet be of very smal
value: of golde and silver they make
commonly chamber pottes, and other
vessels, that serve for moche vile uses,
not onely in their common hallcs, but
in every mans private house. Further-
more of the same mettalles they make
greate chains, fetters, & giewes wher-
in the tie their bondmen. Finally who
soever for any offence be infamed, by
their eares hange rynges of golde:
upon their fyngers they weare rynges
of golde, and aboute their neckes chain-
es of golde: & in conclusion their heades
be tied aboute with gold. Thus by
all meanes possible they procure to have
golde & silver among them in reproche
and infamie. And these mettalles, which
other nations do as grievously and so-
rowfullpe forgo, as in a manner their
owne

O wonderfull
contumelie of
golde,

Golde the re-
prochful badge
of infamed per-
son.

owne lynes: if they should altogether
 at ones be takē from the Utopians, no
 mā there would thinke that he had lost
 the worth of one farthing. They gather
 also pearles by the sea side, & Diamon
 des and carbucles vpon certen rocks,
 and yet they seeke not for them: but by
 chaunce finding them, they cut and po
 lish them. And therewith they deck their
 ponge infants. Whiche like as in the
 first yeres of their childhood, they make
 much and be fonde and proude of such
 ornamētes, so whē they be a litle more
 growen in yeres and discretion, per
 ceuving that none but childē do weare
 such toies and trisels: they lay them as
 waie euen of their owne shamesaste
 nesse, wouthoute anye byddenge of their
 parentes: euen as oure chyldren, when
 they waxe bygge, doo caste awaye
 nuttes, brouches, and puppettes. Ther
 fore these lawes and customes, whiche
 be so farre differente from al other na
 tions, howe diuers fantasies also and
 myndes they doo cause, bydde I ne
 uer so playnely perceaue, as in the Am
 bassadours of the Anemolians.

Gemmes and
 pzeious sto
 nes, toyes for
 yonge children
 to playe with
 all.

These

The seconde booke

A very pleasant
tales.

These Ambassadors came to Amara-rote whiles I was there. And because they came to entreate of great & weightie matters, those three citizens a pece oute of euerie citie were comen thether before them. But all the Ambassadors of the nexte countreis, whiche had bene there before, and knewe the fashions and maners of the Utopians, amonge whome they perceaued no honoure geuen to sumptuous apparell, silkes to be contemned, golde also to be infamed and reprochful, were wont to come thether in verie homelye and simple arraie. But the Anemolians because they dwell farre thence, and had verie litle aquaintaunce with them: hearinge that they were all apparellled alike, and that verie rudely and homely: thinkinge them not to haue the thinges whiche they did not weare: being therefore more proude, then wise: determined in the gorgiousnes of their apparel to represente verie goddes, and wpth the brighte shyninge and glisteringe of their gay clothing to dafell the eyes of the sillie poore Utopians. So there came

came in. iiii. Ambassadors wth c. seruantes all apparelled in chaungeable colours: the moſte of them in ſilkes: the Ambassadors themſelves (for at home in their owne countrie they were noble men) in cloth of gold, wth great chelines of gold, wth golde hanginge at their eares, with gold ringes vpon their fingers with brouches & aglettes of gold vpon their cappes, which glistered full of pearles & pretious ſtones: to be ſhort trimmed, & adourned with al thoſe thinges, which among the vtopians were either the puniſhment of bondmen, or the reproche of infamed perſones, or elles trifels for yonge childre to playe withal. Therefore it wolde haue done a man good at his harte to haue ſene howe proudly they diſpleyed their peacockes feathers, howe muche they made of their painted ſheathes, and howe loftely they ſet forth and aduanced them ſelves, when they compared their gallaunte apparel with the poore rayment of the vtopians. For al the people were ſwarmed forth into the ſtreets. And on the other ſide it was no leſſe pleaſure to conſider

L. i.

howe

The seconde booke

howe muche they were deceaued, and how farre they missed of their purpose being contrary wayes take, then they thought they should haue bene. For to the eyes of all the vtopians, excepte very fewe, which had bene in other countreys for some reasonable cause, al that gorgeousnes of apparrel seemed shamefull and reprocheful. In so muche that they most reuerently saluted the vilest and most abiect of them for lordes: passing ouer the Ambassadors themselves without any honour: iudging them by their wearing of golden cherynes to be bondme. Pea you shoulde haue sene children also, that had caste away their peerles and precious stones, whē they sawe the like sticking vpon the Ambassadors cappes: digge and pushe their mothers vnder the sides, sayinge thus to them. Loke mother how great a lubboz doth yet were peerles and precious stoones, as though he were a litel child stil. But the mother, pea and that also in good earnest: peace sone, saith she: I thinke he be some of the Ambassadors fooles. Some founde faulte at their golden

○ witte head

goldē cheines, as to no vse nor purpose, being so smal and weake, that a bondeman might easely breake them, and agayne so wyde and large, that when it pleased him, he myght cast them of, and runne awaye at libertye whether he woulde. But whē the Ambassadours hadde bene there a dape oz. ii. and sawe so great abundaunce of gold so lyghtly esteemed, yea in no lesse reproche, thē it was with them in honour: & besides that more golde in the cheines & giewes of one fugitiue bondman, then all the costely ornaments of them. iii. was worth: they beganne to abate their courage, and for very shame layde away all that gorgeouse arraye, whereof they were so proud. And specially whē they had talked familiarly with the Utopians, and had learned al theire fassions and opinions. For they marueyle that any men be so folysh, as to haue delite & pleasure in the doubtful glisteringe of a lytil tryffelynge stone, which maye beholde annye of the starres, oz elles the sonne it selfe.

L. ii.

¶

Doubtful he
calleth it,
eicher in consi-
deration & res-
pecte of costes
feste stones, or
elles he calleth
doubtful very
litle worthe.

The seconde booke

D: that anye man is so madde, as to count him selfe the nobler for the smaller or finer threde of wolle. Which selfe same wol (be it now in neuer so fyne a sponne threde) a shepe did ones weare: and yet was she all that time no other thing then a shepe. They marvle also that golde, whych of the owne nature is a thinge so vnprofytable, is now amonge all people in so hyghe estimation, that man him selfe, by whome, yea and for the vse of whome it is so much set by, is in muche lesse estimation, then the golde it selfe. In so muche that a lumpye blockehedded churle, and whych hath no more wytte then an asse, yea and as ful of noughtynes as of folle, shall haue neuertheles manye wyse and good men in subiectyon and bondage, only for this, by cause he hath a greate heape of golde. Whych if it shoulde be taken from hym by anye fortune, or by some subtyll wyle and cautele of the lawe, (whych no lesse then fortune dothe bothe raise vp the lowe, and plucke downe the highe) and be geuen to the moste vile slaue and

A true saying &
a wittie,

and abiect dyuell of all his householde,
then shortly after he shal goo into the
seruice of his seruaunt, as an augmen-
tatiō nor ouerplus beside his money.

But they muche more maruell at and
detest the madnes of them, whiche
to those riche men, in whose debte and
dauager they be not, do giue almost di-
uine honoures, for none other conside-
ration, but bicause they be riche: and
yet knowing them to bee suche nigge-
penny fathers, that they be sure as longe
as they liue, not the worthe of one far-
thinge of that heape of gold shal come
to them. These and such like opiuiōs
haue they conceaued, partely by educa-
tion, beinge brought vp in that commō
wealth, whose lawes and customes be
farre different from these kindes of fol-
ly, and partely by good litterature and
learning. For though there be not ma-
ny in euery citie, which be exempte and
discharged of all other laboures, and
appointed only to learning, that is to
saye: suche in whome euen from their
very childehode they haue perceaued a
singular towardnes, a fyne witte, and

Howe muche
more witte is
in the heades
of the brasse
anes, then of the
common sorte
of christians.

The seconde booke

The studies
and literature
amonge the
vtopians.

Musike
Logike.
Arithmetike.
Geometrie

a minde apte to good learning: yet all in their childhode be instructe in learninge. And the better parte of the people, bothe men and women throughe oute all their whole lyffe doo bestowe in learninge those spare houres, which we sayde they hauz vacante from bodely laboures. They be taughte learninge in theire owne natyue tong. For it is bothe copious in woordes, and also pleasaunte to the eare: and for the vtterance of a mans minde very perfecte and sure. The mooste parte of all that speke of the wordle vseth the same langage, sauinge that amonge the Vtopians it is fyneste and pureste, and accordinge to the dyuersitye of the contreys it is dyuerslye alterede. Of all these Philosophers, whose names be heare famous in this parte of the worlde to vs known, before our cumynge thether not as muche as the fame of anye of them was cumen amonge them. And yet in Musike, Logike, Arithmetike, and Geometrie they haue founde oute in a manner all that our auncient Philosophers

losophers haue taughte. But as they
in all thinges be almoste equal to oure
olde aunceinte clerkes, so oure newe
Logiciens in subtyl inuentions haue
farre passed and gone beyonde them.

For they haue not deuyled one of all In this place
semethe to be a
nipping taunte
those rules of restrictions, amplifi-
cations and suppositions, verpe wit-
telpe inuented in the small Logical-
les, whiche beare oure children in
euery place do learne. Furthermore
they were neuer yet hable to fynde out
the seconde intentions: insomuche
that none of them all coulde euer see
in an hys selfe in comen, as they cal
him, though he be (as you knowe)
bygger then euer was aunce gyaunte,
yea and poynted to of vs euen wyth
our spynge. But they be in the course
of the starres, and the mouynges of Astronomie]
the heauenly spheres verpe expert and
cunnynge. They haue also wittely ex-
cogitated and diuised instrumentes of
diuers fassions: wherin is exactly com-
prehended and conteyned the mouyn-
ges and situations of the sonne, the
mone, and of al the other starres, which

L.iii.

appeare

The seconde booke

Yet emonge
christians this
geere is highli
esteemed thing
dales

Naturall phi-
losophie is a
knowledge most
uncertaine.

Moral philoso-
phy

The order of
good thinges

appere in theire horizon. But as for
the amities and dissensions of the pla-
nettes, and all that decepteful divina-
tion by the starres, they neuer asmuch
as dreamed therof. Raynes, windes, &
other courses of tempestes they knowe
before by certeine tokēs, which they ha-
ue learned by long vse and obseruatiō.
But of the causes of al these thinges &
of the ebbing, flowing, and saltenes
of the sea, and finallpe of the original
begynnyng and nature of heauen and
of the worlde, they holde partelpe the
same opinions that oure olde Philo-
sophers hold, and partelp, as our Phi-
losophers varpe among themselves, so
they also, whiles they bringe newe rea-
sons of thinges, do disagree from all
them, and yet among themselves in all
poyntes they doe not accomde. In that
part of Philosophie, which increateth
of manners and vertue, theire reasons
and opinions agree with ours. They
dispute of the good qualities of the
soule, of the body, and of fortune. And
whether the name of goodnes maye be
applied to all these, or only to the en-
dowmentes

bestowmentes and giftes of the soule.

They reason of vertue and pleasure.

But the chiefe and principall question

is in what thinge, be it one or moe, the

felicitye of man consistethe. But in

this poynte they seme almooſte to

muche geuen and enclined to the opi-

nion of them, which defende pleasure,

wherein they determine either all or

the chiefeſte parte of mans felicitye to

reſte. And (whyche is more to bee mar-

ueled at) the deſe of this ſoo deyn-

tye and delicate an opinton, they ſet-

che euen from their grave, harpe, byt-

ter, and rygorous religion. For they

neuer diſpute of felicitye or bleſſednes,

but they ioyne vnto the reaſons of

Philosophye certeyne principles ta-

ken oute of religion: wythoute the

whyche to the inueſtigation of trewe

felicitye they thynke reaſon of it ſelfe

weake & vnperfecte. Thoſe principles

be theſe & ſuch lyke. That the ſoule is

immortal: & by ſ bauntiful goodnes of

God ordeined to felicitye. That to our

vertues & good deades rewardes be ap-

pointed after this life, and to our euyl

deades

L.v.

deades

The endes of
good thinges.

The Utopia-
nes holde opy-
nion that fel-
citty conſiſteth
in honeſt plea-
ſure.

The principles
of philoſophye
grounded vpon
religion.

The theologie
of the Utopi-
anes.

The immorta-
litye of the ſou-
le, whereof theſe
ſe dayes cer-
teine Chryſti-
anes be i doubt-
leſſe.

The seconde booke.

As every pleasure ought not to be followed so griefe is not to be pursued, but for vertues sake.

besides punishmētes. Though these be perceiving to religion, yet they thinke it mete that they shoulde be beleued & graunted by proofes of reason. But if these principles were condemned and dysanulled, then without anye delaye they pronounce no man to be so foolish, whiche woulde not do all his diligence and endeuoure to obteyne pleasure be ryght or wronge, onely avoydyinge this inconuenience, that the lesse pleasure should not be a let or hinderance to the bigger: or that he laboured not for that pleasure, whiche woulde bringe after it displeasure, griefe, and sorrow. For they iudge it extreame madnes to folowe tharp and painful vertue, & not only to bannthe the pleasure of life, but also willingly to suffer griefe, without anye hope of profit thereof ensuinge. For what profit can there be, if a mā, whē he hath passed ouer all his lyfe vnpleasauntly, that is to say, miserablie, shall haue no rewarde after his death? But nowe say they thinke not felicitie to rest in all pleasure, but only in that pleasure that is good and honeste, and that

that hereto, as to perfect blessednes our nature is allured and drawen euen of vertue, whereto onlpe they that be of the contrary opiniō do attribute felicitie. For they define vertue to be life ordered according to nature, and that we be hereunto ordeined of god. And that he dothe followe the course of nature, which in desiering and refusinge thinges is ruled by reason. Furthermore that reason doth chiefly and principally kende in men the loue and veneration of the deuine maiestie. Of whose goodnes it is that we be, & that we be in possibilitie to attayne felicitie. And that secondarely it bothe stirreth and prouoketh vs to leade our lyfe oute of care in ioy & mirth, & also moueth vs to helpe & further all other in respecte of the societe of nature to obtaine & enioye the same. For there was neuer mā so earnest & paineful a follower of vertue & hater of pleasure, & wold so ioyne you laboures, watchiges, & fastiges, but he wold also exhort you to ease, lightē, & relieue, to your powre, & lack & miserie of others, prapling the same as a dede

In this definition of vertue they agree with the Stoicks.

The worke & effecte of reason in man.

The seconde booke.

of humanitie, and pitie. Then if it be a
poynte of humanitie for man to bring
health and comforte to man, and speci-
allpe (which is a vertue moste peculi-
arpe belonging to man) to mitigate &
assuage the greife of others, and by ta-
king from them the sorowe and heu-
nes of lyfe, to restore them to ioye, that
is to saye to pleasure: whie maye it not
then be sayd, that nature doth prouoke
euerye man to doo thesame to himselfe?

But nowe a
daies some ther
bee that wyl-
linglye procure
vnto themsel-
ues painefull
griefes, as
thoughe therin
rested some
hieghe poynte
of religion,
whereas rather
the religio usly
disposed pers-
on, yf they hap-
pen to be either
by chaunce or
elles by natu-
rall necessitie,
ought rather
lye to resceue &
suffer them,

For a ioyfull lyfe, that is to say, a plea-
saunt lyfe is either euell: and if it be so,
then thou shouldest not onely helpe no
man thereto, but rather, as much as in
the lieth, withdraue all men frome it,
as nopsome and hurtful, or els if thou
not onely mayst, but also of duty art
bound to procure it to others, why not
chiefely to the selfe? To whome thou
art bound to shew as much fauoure and
gentelnes as to other. For whē nature
biddeth the to be good & gentle to other
she commaundeth the not to be cruell
and vngentle to the selfe. Therefore euen
very nature (saye they) prescribeth to
us a ioyful lyfe, that is to say, pleasure

as

as the ende of all oure operations. And they define vertue to be lyfe ordered accordynge to the prescripte of nature. But in that that nature dothe allure and prouoke men one to helpe another to lyue merily (whiche suerly she doth not without a good cause: for no man is so farrre aboue the lotte of mā's state or condition, that nature dothe care and care for hym onely, whiche equally fauoureth the all, that be comprehended vnder the communion of one shap forme and fassion) verely she commaūdeth the to vse diligēt circumspection, that thou do not so seke for thine owne commodities, that thou procure others incommodities. Wherefore theire opinion is, that not only couenauntes and bargaynes made amonge priuate men ought to be well and fapthefully fulfilled, obserued, and kepte, but also common lawes, which either a good prince hath iustly published, or els the people neither oppressed with tyrannye, neither deceaued by fraude and gsell, hath by theire common consent constituted & ratified, concerninge the particion

Bargaynes &
Lawes.

The second Booke

fiction of the commodities of lyfe, that is to say, the matter of pleasure. These lawes not offēded, it is wysdome, that thou looke to thine owne wealth. And to doe thesame for the common wealth is no lesse then thy duetie, if thou bearest any reuerent loue, or any naturall zeale and affection to thy native countrey. But to go about to let an other man of his pleasure, whiles thou procurest thine owne, that is open wrong. Contrary wyle to withdrawe somethinge from the selfe to geue to other, that is a pointe of humanitie and gentilnes: whiche neuer taketh awaye so muche commoditie, as it bringethe agayne. For it is recompensed with the retourne of benefytes, and the conscience of the good dede, with the remembrance of the thankesfull loue and beneuolence of them to whom thou hast done it, doth bringe more pleasure to thy mynde, then that whiche thou hast withholden from thy selfe could haue brought to thy bodie. Finallye (which to a godly disposed & a religions mind is easy to be perswaded) God recompenseth

The mutual re-
course of kind-
nes.

perceiveth the gifte of a short & smal pleasure with great and everlasting ioye. Therefore the matter diligently weyde and considered, thus they thinke, that all our actions, and in the the vertues themselves be referred at the last to pleasure, as their ende & felicitie. Pleasure they call every motion and state of the bodie or mynde, wherein man hath naturally delectatio. Appetite they ioyne to nature, and that not without a good cause. For like as, not, only the senses, but also right reaso coueteth whatsoeuer is naturally pleasaunt, so y it may be gotten without wylg or iniurie, not letting or debarrig a greater pleasure, nor causing painful labour, eue so those thinges that man by vaine ymagination do sayne against nature to be pleasaunt (as though it laye in their power to chaunge y thinges, as they do y natures of thinges) al suche pleasures they beleue to be of so small helpe & furtheraunce to felicitie, that they counte the a great let & hinderaunce. Because that in whom they haue ones taken place, all his mynde they possesse with a false opinion

The definitio
of pleasure.

False and cofus
refere pleasures.

The second Booke

opinion of pleasure. So that there is no place left for true and naturall delectations. For there be many things, which of their owne nature conteyne no pleasauntnes: yea the moste parte of them muche grieve and sorrowe. And yet throughe the peruerse and malicious flickeringe iusticementes of lewde and vnhoneste despyres, be takē not on- ly for speciall & souereigne pleasures, but also be counted amonge the chiefe causes of life. In this cōterfeat kinde of pleasure they put thē that I spake of before. Whiche the better grownes they haue on, the better mē they thinke thē selves. In the which thing they doo twofold erre. For they be no lesse decea- ued in that they thinke their growne the better, than they be, in that they thinke thē selves the better. For if you consider the profitable vse of the gar- mente, whye should wulle of a fyner sponne threde, be thought better, then the wul of a course sponne threde? Yet they, as though the one did passe the other by nature, and not by their mista- kyng, auauce themselves, and thinke the

The error of
thē that esteeme
themselves the
more for appar-
elless sake.

the price of their owne persones there-
by greatly encreased. And therefore the
honour, which in a course goone they
durste not haue looked for, they require,
as it were of deuotie, for theyr fyner
gownes sake. And if they be passed by
without reuerence, they take it displea-
santly and disdainfullie. And agayne
is it not a lyke madnes to take a pryde
in vayne and vnprofitable honours?

Folish honours.

For what naturall or trewe pleasure
doest thou take of an other mans bare
hede, or bowed knees? Will this ease
the paine of thy knees, or remedie the
phrensie of thy hede? In this ymage of
counterfette pleasure, they be of a mar-
uelous madnesse, whiche for the opini-
on of nobilitie, reioyse muche in their
owne concepte. Because it was their
fortune to come of suche auncetours,
whose stocke of longe tyme hadde bene
counted ryche. (for nowe nobilitie is
nothyng elles) spectallie ryche in lang-
des. And though their auncetours left
them not one foote of lande, or els they
themselues haue ppyled it agaynst the
walles, yet they thinke themselues not

Vayne nobilitie.

M. i.

the

The seconde booke

the lesse noble therfore of one heare.

In this number also they counte them that take pleasure and delite (as I said)

Pleasure in
precious sto-
nes most folish

in gemmes and precious stones, and thynke themselves almooste goddes, if they chaunce to gette an excellent one, specialle of that kynde, whiche in

The opulson &
fancie of peo-
ple doeth aug-
ment & dimi-
nish the price
and estimation
of precious sto-
nes.

that tyme of their owne countre men, is had in hyghest estimation. For one

kynde of stone kepeth not his pryce still in all countreis, and at all times.

For they bye them not, but taken out of the golde, and bare: no nor so net-

ther, buttill they haue made the seller to sweare, that he will warraunte and

assure it to be a true stone, and no coun-

terfeit gemme. Suche care they take lest a counterfeite stone should deceaue

their eyes in steade of a ryghte stone.

But why shouldest thou not take even as much pleasure in beholding a coun-

terfette stone, whiche thine eye cannot discerne from a righte stone? They

shoulde bothe be of lyke value to thee, even as to the blinde man.

What shall I saye of them, that kepe super-
fluous riches, to take delectation only
in

Beholders of
treasure, not
occupying the
same.

in the beholdinge, and not in the vse or
occupynge thereof. Do they take
trew pleasure, or elles be they deceaued
with false pleasure? Of them that
be in a contrarie vice, hidinge the gold
whiche they shall neuer occuppe, nor
peraduenture neuer se more? And whi-
les they take care leaste they shall leese
it, do leese it in dede. For what is it
elles, when they hyde it in the ground,
takynge it bothe frome their owne vse,
and perchaunce frome all other men-
nes also? And yet thou, when thou
hast hydde thy treasure, as one out of
all care, hoppest for ioye. The whiche
treasure, yf it shoulde chaunce to bee
stolen, and thou ignorant of the thefte
shouldest dye tenne yeares after: all
that tenne yeares space that thou ly-
uedest after thy money was stolen,
what matter was it to thee, whether
it hadde bene taken awaye or elles safe
as thou lyste it? Trewe bothe
wayes like profytte came to thee. To
these so foolyshe pleasures they ioyne
dicers, whose madnesse they knowe
by hearsay, and not by vse. Hunters al-

Hyders of tres-
sure.

A pretty fitt
and a wittie.

M. 4,

so,

The seconde booke

Dice playe.

Huntinge and
hawkinge.

Hunting the
balest parte of
boucherie amōg
the Droptians,
and yet this is
nowe the exer-
cise of most no-
ble men.

so, and hawkers. For what pleasure
is there (saye they) in castinge the dice
vpon a table. Which thou hast done so
often, that if there wer any pleasure in
it, yet the oft vse might make thee we-
rie thereof? Or what delite can there
be, and not rather dyspleasure in hear-
yng the barkyng and howlyng of
dogges? Or what greater pleasure is
there to be felte, when a dogge follow-
eth an hare, then when a dogge fol-
loweth a dogge? for one thinge is done
in bothe, that is to saye, runnyng, yf
thou haste pleasure therein. But yf
the hope of slaughter, and the expecta-
tion of tearyng in peces the beaste
doth please thee: thou shouldest rather
be moued with pitie to see a selye inno-
cente hare murdered of a dogge: the
weake of the stronger, the fearefull of
the feerce, the innocente of the cruell
and vnmerecyfull. Therefore all thys
exercyse of huntynge, as a thyng vn-
worthye to be vsed of free men, the Al-
topians haue reiected to their bouchers
to the whiche crafte (as we sayde be-
fore) they appointe their bondemen.

For

For they counte huntynge the lowest,
the vyleste, and mooste abiecte parte of
boucherie, & the other partes of it more
profitable, and more honeste, as byng-
ynge muche more commoditie, in that
they kyll beastes onely for necessitie.

Where as the hunter seeketh nothynge
but pleasure of the seelpe and wofull
beastes slaughter and murder. The
whiche pleasure in beholdinge death,
they thinke doeth rise in the very bea-
stes, either of a cruel affection of mind,
or els to be chaunged in continuance
of time into crueltie, by longe vse of so
cruell a pleasure. These therfore and
all suche like, whiche be innumerable,
though the comon sorte of people doth
take them for pleasures, yet they, seing
there is no natural pleasurynesse in the,
do playnly determine them to haue no
affinitie with trewe and right pleasure.
For as touchynge that they do comon-
ly moue the sense wyth delectation
(whiche semeth to be a woork of plea-
sure) this doeth nothynge diminishe
their opinion. For not the nature of
the thing, but their peruerse and lewde

The seconde booke

The kindes of
of pleasures

The pleasures
of the bodye.

custome is the cause hereof. Whiche causeth them to accept bitter or sowre thynges for swete thynges. Euen as women with child in their viciate and corrupte taste, thinke pytche and talowe sweter then any honey. Howbeit no mannes iudgemente depraved and corrupte, either by spckenes, or by custome, can chaunge the nature of pleasure, more then it can do the nature of other thynges. They make diuers kindes of pleasures. For some they attribute to the soule, and some to the body. To the soule they geue intelligence, and that delectation, that commeth of the contemplation of trewth. Hereunto is ioyned the pleasaunte remembrance of the good lyfe past. The pleasure of the bodye they deuide into ii. partes. The first is when delectation is sensibly felt and perceaued. Whiche many times chaunceth by the renewing and refreshing of those partes, which oure naturall heate drieth vp. This cometh by meate and drynke. And sometymes whyles those thynges be expulsed, and voyded, wherof is in the body

body ouer great abundaunce. This pleasure is felt, when we do our natural easement, or when we be doing the acte of generation, or when the itchinginge of any part is eased with rubbing or scratchinge. Sometimes pleasure riseth exhibitinge to any membre nothynge that it desireth, nor takynge from it any paine that it feeleth, which neuerthelesse tikleth and moueth our senses wyth a certeine secrete efficacie, but with a manifest motion turnethe them to it. As is that whiche commeth of musicke. The seconde parte of bodily pleasure they say, is that which consisteth and resteth in the quiete, and **Bodily health.** vpryghte state of the bodye. And that trewlye is euerye mannes owne propre health entermingled and disturbed with no grieve. For this, yf it be not letted nor assaulted with no greif, is delectable of it selfe, though it be moued with no externall or outwarde pleasure. For though it be not so plain and manifeste to the sense, as the grevye luste of eatynge and drynkyng, yet neuerthelesse manye take it for the chiefe pleasure. All the Utopians

M. ill. graunt

2
The seconde booke

graunt it to be a right Soueraigne pleasure, and as you woulde saye the foundation and grounde of all pleasures, as whiche euen alone is hable to make the state and condition of life delectable and pleasaunt. And it beyng once taken awaye, there is no place left for any pleasure. For to be without greife not hauinge health, that they call insensibilitie, and not pleasure. The Utopians haue long ago reiected & condemned the opinion of them, whiche sayde that stedfast and quiete health (for this question also hath bene diligently debated amonge them) oughte not therfore to be counted a pleasure, because they saye it can not be presently and sensibly perceaued and felte by some outward motion. But of the contrarie parte nowe they agree almoste all in this, that health is a moost soueraigne pleasure. For seynoe that in sicknesse (saye they) is greife, whiche is a mortal enemye to pleasure, eue as sickness is to health, why should not then pleasure be in the quietnes of health? For they say it maketh nothing to

to this matter, whether you say that
sickness is a griefe, or that in sickness
is griefe, for all cometh to one pur-
pose. For whether health be a pleasure
it selfe, or a necessary cause of pleasure,
as fire is of heate, truelye bothe wayes
it foloweth, that they cannot be with-
oute pleasure, that be in perfect helth.
Furthermore whiles we eat (say they)
then health, whiche beganne to be ap-
payred, fighteth by the helpe of foode
against hunger. In the which fight,
whiles health by litle and litle getteth
the vpper hande, that same procedyng,
and (as ye would say) that onwardnes
to the wonted strength ministreth that
pleasure, wherby we be so refreshed.
Health therfore, whiche in the conflict
is ioyefull, shall it not be mery, when
it hath gootten the victorie? But as
soone as it hath recovered the prist-
ine strength, which thing onely in all
the fight it coueted, that it incontinent
be astounded? Nor shal it not knowe nor
embrace the owne wealthe & goodnes?
For where it is said, health can not be
felt: this, they thinke, is nothing true.

For

The seconde booke

For what man wakynge, saye they, seeth not himselfe in healeth: but he that is not? Is there anye man so possessed with some insensibilitie, or with lethargie, that is to say, the sleeping sickness, that he will not graunt healeth to be acceptable to him, and delectable?

Delectation.

**The pleasures
of the mynde.**

But what other thinge is delectation, than that whiche by an other name is called pleasure? They embrace chiefly the pleasures of the mind. For them they counte the chiefest and most principall of all. The chiefe parte of them they thinke doth come of the exercise of vertue, & conscience of good life. Of these pleasures that the body minneth, they geue p^reeminēce to helth. For the delite of eating & drinking, and whatsoeuer hath any like pleasauntnes, they determyne to be pleasures muche to be desired, but no other wayes than for heales sake. For suche thinges of their own proper nature be not so pleasaunt, but in that they resiste sickenesse privelyte stealing on. Therefore like as it is a wise mā's part, rather to avoid sickness, then to wishe for medicines, and rather to driue away and put to flight

careful

carefull griefes, then to call for comfort: so it is muche better not to neede this kinde of pleasure, then thereby to be eased of the contrarie griefe. The whiche kinde of pleasure, if anye man take for his felicitie, that man must needs graunt, that then he shalbe in most felicitie, if he liue that life, which is led in continuall hunger, thurst, itching, eatinge, drynkynge, scratchynge, and rubbing. The which life how not only foule, & vn honest, but also howe miserable, & wretched it is, who perceueth not? These doubtles be the basest pleasures of al, as vn pure & vn perfect. For they neuer come, but accompanied wth their cōtra rie griefes. As wth the pleasure of eating is ioynded hūger, & y^e after no very egal sort. For of these. ii. y^e griefe is both the more vehemēt, & also of longer cōtinuance. For it beginneth before the pleasure, & endeth not vntill the pleasure die wth it. Wherefore suche pleasures they thinke not greatlpe to be set by, but in y^e thei be necessari. Howbeit they haue de lite also iⁿ these, & thākfulli knowledge y^e tender loue of mother nature, which wth

moost

The seconde booke

The giftes of
nature.

most pleasaunt delectacion allureth her children to that, to the necessarie vse wherof they must from time to time continually be forced and driuen. For how wretched and miserable should our life be, if these dailie greffes of hunger and thirst coulde not be driuen awaye, but with bitter potions, and sower medicines, as the other diseases be, wherewith we be seldomer troubled? But beutie, strengthe, nemblenes, these as peculiar & pleasaunt giftes of nature they make much of. But those pleasures that be receaued by the eares, the eyes, and the nose, whiche nature willeth to be proper and peculiar to man (for no other liuinge creature doth behold the fairenes & the beutie of the worlde, or is moued with any respecte of saouours, but onely for the diuersitie of meates, neither perceaueth the concordante and discordant distaunces of soundes, & tunes) these pleasures, I say, they accept and allowe as certen pleasaunte refreshinges of life. But in all thinges this cautel they vse, that a lesse pleasure hinder not a bigger, & that the pleasure be

no

no cause of displeasure, whiche they thinke to folow of necessitie, if the pleasure be vnhoneſte. But yet to dispise the comelines of beuotie, to waſt the bodellie ſtrength, to turne nimblenes into ſloughiſhneſſe, to conſume and make feeble the bodie with faſtinge, to do iniurie to healethe, and to reſecte the pleaſaunte motions of nature, onles a mā neglecte theſe commodities, whiles he dothe with a feruent zeale procure the wealth of others, or the common profite, for the whiche pleasure forborne, he is in hope of a greater pleasure at goddes hande, elles for a vaine ſhadow of vertue, for the wealth and profite of no man, to puniſhe himſelfe, or to the intente he maye be hable courragiouslie to ſuffer aduerſitie : whiche perchaunce ſhall neuer come to him, this to do they thinke it a point of extreame madnes, and a token of a man cruellie minded towards himſelfe, and vnkind towards nature, as one ſo diſdaining to be in her daunger, that he renounceth and refuseth all her benefites.

This is their ſentence and opinion of vertue and pleasure. And they beleue
that

The se conde booke

Marke this
well.

The wealth &
description of
the Utopians.

that by mans reason none can be found
truer then this, onles any godlyer be
inspired into man from heuen. Wher-
in whether they beleue well or no, nei-
ther the time doth suffer vs to discusse
neither it is nowe necessarie. For we
haue taken vpon vs to shewe and de-
clare their lores and ordinances, and
not to defende them. But this thynge
I beleue verely: howe soeuer these de-
crees be, that there is in no place of the
world, neyther a more excellent people,
neither a more flourishynge common-
wealth. They be lyghte and quicke of
bodie, full of actiuitie and nimblenece,
and of more strength then a man woulde
iudge them by their stature, which for
all that is not to lowe. And though
they sole be not verie frutefull, nor
their aier very wholsome, yet agaynst
the aier they so defende them with tē-
perate dicte, and so order and husband
their ground with diligente trauaile,
that in no countrie is greater increase,
and plentye of corne and cattell, nor
mens bodies of longer lyfe, and subiect

or apte to fewer diseases. There therefore a man maye see well, and diligently replotted and furnished, not onely those thinges whiche husbandemen do comenly in other countreys, as by craft and cunnynge to remedie the barrennes of the ground: but also a whole wood by the handes of the people plucked vp by the rootes in one place, & set againe in an other place. Wherein was had regard and consideration, not of plenty, but of comodious carriage, that wood and timber might be nigher to the sea, or the riuers, or, y cities. For it is lesse labour and businesse to carrie grayne farre by land, than wood. The people be gentle, merke, quicke, and fyne witted, delitynge in quietnes, & when nede requireth, hable to abide & suffer much bodellie labour. Als they be not greatly desirous & fond of it: but in the exercise & studie of the mind they be neuer weary. Whē they had herd me speak of y greke literature or lerning (for in latin there was nothing that I thought they would greatly allow, besides historians & Poetes) they made wonderfull earnest

The bristles of
the greke tongue.

The seconde booke

earneste and importunate sute vnto me that I would teach & instructe them in that tonge and learninge. I beganne therfore to reade vnto them, at the first truelie more bicause I would not seme to refuse the labour, then that I hoped that they would any thing profite therin. But when I had gone forward a litle, I perceaued incontinente by their diligence, that my labour should not be bestowed in vaine. For they began so easelie to fashion their letters, so plainlie to pronounce the woordes, so quickelie to learne by hearte, and so suerlie to rehearse the same, that I marvelled at it, sauinge that the most parte of them were fine, and chosen wittes, and of ripe age, piked oute of the companie of the learned men, whiche not onelie of their owne free and voluntarie will, but also by the commaundement of the counsell, vndertoke to learne this langage. Therefore in lesse the thre yeres space there was nothing in the Greke tonge that they lacked. They were hable to rede good authors withoute anie stage, if the booke were not

A wonderfull
eapnes to lea-
ninge in the
Droptans.

But now most
blockheded as-
ses be sette to
learninge, and
most pregnant
wittes corrupt
with pleasures

not false. This kynde of learninge, as
 I suppo'e, they take so much the soo-
 ner, because, it is somewhat allpaunte
 to them. For I thinke that this nation
 tooke their beginnunge of the Grekes,
 because their speche, which in al other
 poyntes is not much vnlike the Ger-
 man tongue, kepeth dyuers signes and to-
 kens of the greke langage in the names
 of their cityes, and of theirre magistra-
 tes. They haue of me (for when I was
 determyned to entre into my .iiii. voy-
 age, I caste into the shippe in the Cade
 of marchandise a pretty fardel of bookes,
 because I intended to come againe ra-
 ther neuer, than shortly they haue, I
 save, of me the moste parte of Platoes
 workes, more of Aristotles, also Theo-
 phrastus of plantes, but in diuers pla-
 ces (which I am sorre for) vnperfecte.
 For whyles we were a shipboorde, a maz-
 moset chaunced vpon the booke, as it
 was negligentlpe layde by, which wan-
 tonlpe playinge therewyth plucked
 oute certeyne leaues, and tooze
 them in pieces. Of them that haue
 wyrtten the grammer, they haue one-

The seconde booke

the Palsaris. For Theodoros I caried
 not wpth me, nor neuer a dictionarpe,
 but Hesichius, & Dioscorides. They
 sett greate stooze by Plutarches boo-
 kes. And they be delpted wpth Lucia-
 nes mery conceptes and iestes. Of the
 Poetes they haue Aristophanes, Ho-
 mer, Euripides, and Sophocles in Al-
 dus small prynte. Of the Historians
 they haue Thucydides, Herodotus, &
 Herodian. Also my companion, Ari-
 dius Apinatus caried wth him phisick
 bokes, certein smal woorkes of Hippo-
 crates, and Galenes Microtechnie.
 The whyche boke they haue in greate
 estimatib. For thoughe there be almost
 no nation vnder heauen that hath lesse
 nede of Phisicke then they yet this not
 withstanding, Phisicke is no where in
 greater honour. By cause they counte
 the knowledge of it among the goodly-
 est, and most profytable partes of Phi-
 losophie. For whyles they by the helpe
 of this Philosophie searche out the se-
 crete mysteryes of nature, they thinke
 themselves to receaue therby not onely
 wonderfull greate pleasure, but also to
 obteine

Phisicke
 highly regar-
 ted.

obtaine great thanks and fauour of the
 author & maker thereof. Whome they
 thinke accordig to þe fassh of other arti- The contents
 placion of na-
 ture.
 ficers, to haue set furth the maruelous
 & gorgeous frame of the world for mā
 w great affeccō intētuelly to beholde.
 Whom only he hath made of witte, &
 capacitie to cōsidre & vnderstand the ex-
 cellēcie of so great a woork. And there-
 fore he beareth (say they) more good wil-
 & loue to the curious & diligent behol-
 der & vewer of his woork & maruelous
 attthesame, thē he doth to hī, which like
 a very brute beaste without witte and
 reasō, or as one without sēse or mouīg,
 hath no regarde to soo greate and soo
 wonderfull a spectacle. The wittes
 therefore of the Utopians inured and
 exercised in learnynge, be marueilous
 quicke in the inuention of crates hel-
 pinge annye thinge to the aduantage
 and wealthe of lyffe. Howebeit, if fea-
 tes theye maye thanke vs for. That is,
 the science of imprinting, and the cra-
 fte of makinge paper. And yet not one-
 ly vs but chiefely and principallye
 themselves.

The seconde booke

For whē we shewede to thē Aldus his
print in bookes of paper, and told them
of the stufte wherof paper is made, and
of the feate of graving letters, speakig
sumwhat more, then we colde plainly
declare (for there was none of vs, that
knewe perfectly either the one or the
other) they furthwith very wittely cō-
fectedured the thinge. And where as be-
fore they wrote onely in skynnes, in bar-
kes of trespes, & in rides, nowe they haue
attempted to make paper, & to imprint
letters. And thoughte at the first yt pro-
ued not all of the beste, yt by often as-
sayinge the same they shortlye got the
feate of bothe. And haue so broughte
the matter aboute, that yf they had co-
ppes of Greeke authores, they coulde
lacke no bookes. But nowe they
haue no moore, thē I rehearsed before,
sauinge that by pryncypall of bookes
they haue multiplied and increased the
same into manie thousandes of copies.
Whosoever cummeth thether to see
the lande, bringe excellent in anye gifte
of wytte, or througe muche and longe
iournienge wel experienced and sene in
the

the knoweledg of many countreies (for
the whiche cause wee were very wel-
come to them) him they receyue and in-
terteyne wonders gentilly, & louing-
lye. For they haue delite to heare what
is done in euerye lande, howbest verie
fewe marchaunte men come thether.

For what shoulde they bring thether,
oules it were Iron, or els gold and sil-
uer, whiche they hadde rather carrie
home agayne? Also such thinges as are
to be carped oute of their lande, they
thinke it more wisedome to carrie that
gere furthe themselves, then that other
shoulde come thether to fetch it,

to thentente they maye the bet-

ter knowe the out landes on

euerye syde of them, and

kepe in bre the feate

and knowledge

of sailinge.

**Of Bondemen, sicke per-
sons, wedlocke, and di-
uers other matters,**

N.iii.

They

The second booke

A ineneloug
equite of
epignation,



They neither make
bondemen of priso-
ners taken in bat-
taye, oncles it be
in battayle that
they foughte them
selves, nor of bond-
mens children, nor
to be shote, of anye suche as they canne
gette out of forreine countries, though
he were theire a bondman. But either
suche, as amonge themselves for he-
nons offences be punished with bon-
dage, or elles suche, as in the Cities
of other landes for greate trespasses be
condempned to deathe. And of this sort
of bondemen they haue mooste stoor.
For manye of them they bringe home
sumtymes payinge very lytle for them,
yea mooste commonlye gettynge them
for gramercye. These sortes of bon-
demen they kepe not onely in continu-
al woork & labour, but also in bandes.
But their oune mē they haue hardest,
whom they Iudge moze desperate, & to
haue deserued greater punishmente,
by cause they being so godlye broughte
bp

by to vertue in soo exceleste a common
 wealth, could not for all that be refre-
 ned from misdoing. An other kinde of
 bondema they haue, whē a vile drudge
 being a poore laborer in an other coun-
 try doth chuse of his owne free will
 to be a bondma amōg thē. These they
 intreate & order honestly, & enterteine
 almoste as gētelle, as theire owne free
 cytyzens, saupnge that they put them
 to a lyttle more labour, as thereto ac-
 customed. If anye suche, be disposed
 to departe thens (whiche seldome is
 seene) they neither holde him againste
 his will, neither sende him away with
 emptye hādes. The speke (as I sayde) Of them that
be sicke.
 they see to wth great affection, and lette
 nothīg at al passe cōcernīg either whis-
 speke or good diete, whereby they may
 be restored agāe to their health. Such
 as be sicke of incurable diseases they
 comforte with sittinge by them, with
 talkinge with them, and to be thorte
 with all maner of helpes that may be.
 But pf the disease be not onelye in-
 curable, but also full of conty-
 nuall payne and anguīshe: then the
 M.iii. priests

The seconde booke

Voluntarie
death.

priestes and the magistrates exhort the man, seinge he is not hable to doo anye dewtpe of lyffe, and by ouerlyuinge his owne deathe is noper some and irkesome to other, and greuous to himselfe: that he wyl determine with himselfe no longer to cheryshe that pestilent and prynceful disease. And seinge his lyffe is to him but a torment, that he wyl not bee unwilling to dye, but rather take a good hope to him, & either dispatche himselfe out of that paynfull lyffe, as out of a prison, or a racke of torment, or elles suffer himselfe willingly to be rydde oute of it by other. And in so doinge they tell him he shall doo wysely, seing by his deathe he shall lise no commoditie, but ende his payne. And because in that acte he shall followe the counsel of the priestes, that is to saye, of the interpreters of gooddes wyl & pleasure, they shewe him that he shall do lyke a godly and a vertuous man. They that be thus perswaded, finyshe theire liues willingly, either with hunger, or elles dye in theire sleape without anye feeling of deathe. But they cause none suche

suche to dye agaynste his wyll, nor they
 vse no lesse diligence and attendaunce
 aboute hym: beleuinge this to be an ho-
 norable deathe. Elles he that killeth
 himselfe before that the ppestes and
 the counsel haue allowed the cause of
 his deathe, him as vnworthe either to
 be buried, or with fier to be consumed,
 they caste vnburied into some stynkinge
 marish. The woman is not married be-
 fore she be xviij yerres olde. The man is
 iiii yerres elder before he marie. If
 either the man or the womā be proued
 to haue actually offended before theire
 marriage, with an other, the partye
 that so hathe trespassed is sharpely
 punished. And bothe the offenders be
 forbidden euer after in al theire lyfe to
 marrie: ones the faulte be forgoen
 by the princes pardone. But bothe the
 good man and the good wyfe of the
 house, where that offense was comitted,
 as beinge slacke and neglygent in lo-
 kinge to theire chardge, be in daunger
 of greate reproche and infampe. That
 offense is so sharpely punished, bicause
 they perceauē, that onles they be dili-

Of wedlocks.

non eductus
 mulieris et
 eius iuxta
 sybilis

M. b.

gentlye

The seconde booke.

gentle kepte from the libertie of
this vice, fewe wyll ioyne together in
the loue of marriage, wherein all the
lyfe must be led with one, and also all
the griefes and displeasures comming
therewith patiently be taken & borne.
Furthermore in chusinge wyfes and
husbandes they obserue earnestly and
straptely a custome, whiche seemed to
be very sonde and folyshe. For a sad &
an honest matrone sheweth the womā,
be she mayde or widdowe, naked to the
wower. And lykewyse a sage and dis-
crete man exhibyteth the wower nar-
ked to the woman. At this custome we
laughed, and disallowed it as foolishe.
But they on the other part doo great-
ly wonder at the follye of al other
nations, whiche in byinge a colte,
whereas a lytle money is in hasarde,
be so charpe and circumspecte, that
though he be almoste all bare, yet they
wyll not bye hym, oneles the saddel
and all the harnies be taken of, leaste
vnder those couerynges be hydde, som
galle or soore. And yet in chusinge a
wyfe, whiche shalbe either pleasure,

Though he not
beis honestly,
yet not by
himselpe

of displeasure to them all theire lyfe
after, they be so recheles, that al the re-
spewe of the woomans bodpe beinge
couered with cloothes, they esteeme her
scalpe be one handebredeth (for they
can se no more but her face) and so to
sopne her to them not without greate
leoperdye of euil agreinge togethr, yf
any thing in her body afterward should
chaunce to offend and myslike them.
For all men be not so wyse, as to haue
respekte to the vertuous conditions of
the partte. And the endowmētes of the
bodpe cause the vertues of the minde
more to be esteemed and regarded: yea
euen in the mariages of wyse men. Cle-
arly so foule deformitie maye be hydde
vnder those coueringes, that it maye
quite alienate & take awaye the mans
mynde from his wyse, when it shal not
be lawfull for theire bodies to be sepera-
te agayne. If suche deformitie happen
by any chaunce after the mariage is co-
sumate and finished, wel, there is no re-
medie but patience. Euery man muste
take his fortune wel a worthe. But it
were wel done that a lawe were made
whereby

The seconde booke.

Wherby all suche deceptes myghte be
eschewed, and aduoyded before hande.

And this were they constrained more
earnestly to looke vpon, because they
onlye of the nations in that parte of
the worlde bee contente euery man
with one wyfe a piece. And matrimo-
nie is there neuer broke, but by death:
excepte adulterpe breake the bonde, or
els the intollerable wayward ma-
ners of either partpe. For if either of
them finde themselves for any such cause
grieved: they maye by the license of the
counsel chaunge and take another.

Disordrement.

But the other partie lyueth euer after
in infampe, and out of wedlocke Howe
beit the husbände to put away his wife
for no other faulte, but for that some
myshappe is fallen to her bodpe, this
by no meanes they wyl suffre. For
they iudge it a great point of crueltie,
that anye bodp in their moste nede of
helpe and comforte, shoulde be caste of
and forsaken, and that olde age, whych
both byingeth sicknes with it, and is
a spkenes it selfe, should vnkindly and
vnfaythfullpe be delte withall. But
nowe

nowe and then it chaunſeth, where as
the man and the woman cannot well
agree betwene themſelves, both of them
ſpndinge other, with whome they ho-
pe to lyue more quiettly and merlye,
that they by the full conſente of them
bothe be diuorſed a ſonder and married
againe to other. But that not without
the authoritie of the counſell. Whiche
agreeth to no diuorſes, before they and
their wyfes haue diligently tried & exa-
myned the matter. Pea & the alſo they
be lothe to conſent to it, becauſe they
know this to be the next way to break
loue betwene man and wyfe, to be in
raſpe hope of a new marriage. Breakers
of wedlocke be puniſhed with moſte
greuous bondage. And if both the offē-
ders were married, then the parties
whiche in that behalfe haue ſufferede
wrong, beinge diuorſed from the auou-
ters, be married together, if they wille,
or els to whom they liſt. But if either
of them both do ſtill continewe in loue
towards ſo unkinde a bedfellowe, the
uſe of wedlocke is not to them forbid-
den, if the partye faultleſſe be diſpoſed
to

The second Booke

to followe in toplinge and drudgerie the person, which for that offence is condemned to bondage. And very ofte it chaunceth that the repentance of the one, and the earnest diligence of the other, dothe so moue the prince with pitye and compassion, that he restoreth the bonde persone from seruitude to libertie and freedom again. But if the same partie be taken eftsones in that fault, there is no other waye but death. To other trespasses no prescript punishmente is appoynted by anye lawe. But accordinge to the heynousnes of the offense, or contrarie, so the punishmente is moderated by the discretion of the counsell. The husbandes chastise theire wyfes: and the parentes theire children, ones they haue done anye so horryble an offense, that the open punishmente thereof maketh muche for the aduancemente of honeste maners. But mooste commonlye the mooste heynous faultes be punished with the incommoditie of bondage. For that they suppose to be to the offenders no lesse grieve, and to the common

The decerning
of punishmente
putte to the
discretion of
the magistrats,
reg.

common wealth more profit, then yf they should hastily put them to death, & so make them quite out of the waye. For there cometh more profit of their labour, then of their death, and by their example they feare other the longer from lyke offenses. But if they beinge thus vled, doo rebell and kicke againe, then forsothe they be slayne as desperate and wilde beastes, whom neither prison nor chaine could restraine and kepe vnder. But they, whiche take their bondage patiently, be not lesse all hopeles. For after they haue bene broken and tamed with longe miseries, if then they shewe such repentance, as therebyte it maye bee perceaued that they be sorowful for their offense then for their punishment: sumtymes by the Rynces prerogatyue, and sumtymes by the voyce and consent of the people, their bondage either is mitigated, or els cleane released and forgiven. He that moueth to aduoutrye is in no lesse daunger and scorpier, then yf he hadde committed aduoutrye in dede. For in all offenses they

counte

Motion to ad-
uoutrye pun-
ished,

The second Booke

pleasure of
fooles.

counte the intente and pretended purpose as cruel, as the acte or dede it selfe, thinking that no lette oughte to excuse him, that did his beste to haue no lette. They haue singular delite & pleasure in foles. And as it is a greate reproche to do to annye of them hurte or inturp, so they prohibite not to take pleasure of foolyshnes. For that, they thinke, dothe muche good to the fooles. And if any man be so sadde, and sterne, that he canot laughe neither at their wordes, nor at their dedes, none of them be committed to his tuition: for feare least he would not intreate the gentilly and favorably enough: to whom they should byngne no delectation (for other goodnes in them is none) muche lesse anpe proffite shoulde they yelde him. To mocke a man for his deformitie, or for that he lacketh anpe parte or lymme of his bodie, is counted greate dishonour and reproche, not to him that is mocked, but to him that mocketh. Which vnwysely doth imbarde anpe man of that as a vice, that was not in his powre to eschewe. Also as they counte

counte and reken verpe litetl witte to
 be in him, that regardeth not naturall
 betwite and comliness, so to helpe the
 same with payntinges, is taken for a *Counterfelte*
 vaine and a wanton pride, not with- *betwite.*
 oute greate infamie. For they knowe
 euen by very experience, that no come-
 liness of betwite doethe so hyghelpe
 commende and auance the wiues in
 the conceite of their husbandes, as ho-
 nest conditions and lowlines. For as
 loue is oftentimes wonne with betwite,
 so it is not kept, preserved, and conti-
 nued, but by vertue and obediēce. They *Sinne punis*
 do not onely feare their people fro do- *shed & vertue*
 yng euil by punishmentes, but also al- *rewarded.*
 lure them to vertue with rewardes of
 honoure. Therfore they set vp in the
 markette place the ymages of notable
 mē, & of such as haue bene great & bou-
 teful benefactors to the comen wealth,
 for perpetual memorie of their good
 actes: & also that the glorie & renowne
 of the auuncetors maye stirre and pro-
 uoke their posteritie to vertue. He that *The ferdinate*
 inordinatly & ambitiously desireth pro- *desire of hor*
 motions, is left al hopeles for euer at- *nours condem*
 ned.

D. 1.

612

The seconde booke

seining any promotion as long as he li-
ueth. They lyue together louinglye.
For no magistrate is eyther haughty or
fearfull. Fathers they be called, & lyke
fathers they vse themselves. The citi-
zens (as it is their dewtie) willingly
exhibite vnto them dew honour with-
out any compulsion. Nor the prince
himselfe is not knowen from the other
by princely apparell, or a robe of state,
nor by a crown or diademe royal, or cap
of maienaunce, but by a little sheffe of
corne caried before him. And so a taper
of wax is borne before y^e bishop, wher-
by onely he is knowen. They haue but
few lawes. For to people so instructe
and institute very fewe do suffice. For
this thing they chiefly reprove amōg
other natiōs, that innumerable booke
of lawes & expositions vpon the same be
not sufficient. But they think it against
all right & iustice that men shoulde be
bound to those lawes, which either be
in number mo then be hable to be read,
or els blinder & darker, then that anye
mā can well vnderstande the. further-
more they vtterly exclude and banishe
all

Magistrates
honoured.

Fewe lawes.

The multitude
of lawyers
superfluous.

all attorneis, proctours, & sergeantes
at the lawe: whiche craftelpe handell
matters, & subtelly dispute of the law-
es. For they thinke it mooste meete, that
euery mā should pleade his own mat-
ter, & tel thesame tale before the iudge
that he wold tell to his mā of law. So
that there be lesse circumstaunce of wo-
des, and the trueth shall soner come to
light, whiles the iudge with a discrete
iudgement doeth wape the woordes of
him, whom no lawyer hath instructe to
deceit, & whiles he helpeth and beareth
out simple wittes against the false and
malicious circumuentions of craftie
children. This is harde to be obserued
in other countreis, in so infinitie a num-
ber of blinde & intricate lawes. But in
Utopia euery mā is a cunning lawier.
For as (I said) they have very few law-
es: and the plainer and grosser that a-
nye interpretation is: that they allowe
as most iuste. For all lawes (saie they)
be made and publyshed onely to the in-
tente, that by them euery man shoulde
be put in remembraunce of his dewtie.
But the craftpe and subtill interpre-

The intent of
lawes.

The seconde booke

tation of them (forasmuche as few can
accepte thereto) canne put verpe fewe
in that remembraunce, where as the
simple, the plaine, and grosse meaninge
of the lawes is open to euerpe man.

Elles as touchinge the vulgare sort of
the people, whiche be bothe mooste in
number, and haue mooste nede to knowe
their dewties, were it not as good for
them, that no law were made at all, as
when it is made, to bringe so blinde
an interpretation vpon it, that without
greate witte and longe arguynge no
man can discusse it? To the spyndynge
oute whereof neyther the grosse iudge-
ment of the people can attaine, neither
the whole life of them that be occupied
in woorkinge for their liuynge, canne
suffice thereto. These vertues of the
Utopians haue caused their nexte ne-
bours and borderers, whiche liue fre
and vnder no subiection (for the Uto-
pians longe ago, haue deliuered manye
of them from tyrannie) to take magi-
strates of them, some for a yere, and
some for foure yeres space. Which whē
the tyme of their office is expired, they
bring

bring home againe with honoure and
praise, and take new againe with them
into their countrey. These nati-
ons haue vndoubtedlye very well and
hollosomely provided for their common
wealthes. For seynge that bothe the
makinge and marriage of the weale pu-
blique, doeth depende and hange vpon
the maners of the rulers and magistra-
tes, what officers coulde they more
wyselye haue chosen, then those which
can not be ledde from honestye by bri-
bes (for to them that shortly after shal
depart thens into their own countrey
money should be vnprofitable) nor yet
be moued eyther with fauoure, or ma-
lice towarde any man, as being straũ-
gers, and vnaquainted with the peo-
ple? The whiche two vices of affectiũ
and auarice, where they take place in
iudgements, incontinente they breake
iustice, the strongest and suerest bonde
of a common wealth. These peoples
whiche fetch their officers and ru-
lers from them, the Utopians cal their
fellows. And other to whome they
haue bene beneficiall, they call their
D.iiij. frendes

The seconde booke

Of leagues.

frendes. As touching leagues, which in other places betwene countrey & countrey be so ofte concluded, broken, and renewed, they neuer make none with any nation. For to what purpose serue leagues, say they? As though nature had not set sufficient loue betwene man and man. And who so regardeth not nature, thinke you that he will passe for wordes? They be brought into this opinion chiefely, because that in those partes of the worlde, leagues betwene princes be wont to be kepte and obserued very skenderly. For here in Europa, & especially in these partes where the faith and religion of Christe reigneth, the maiestie of leagues is euerie where esteemed holy & inuolable: partly through the iustice and goodnes of princes, and partly at the reuerence & motion of the head Bishops, which like as they make no promise themselves, but they do verie religiously perforce the same, so they exhorte all princes in any wise to abide by their promises, & them that refuse or denye so to do, by their pontificall powre, and authoritie they

they compell thereto. And surely they thinke well that it might seme a verpe reprocheful thing, yf in the leagues of them which by a peculiere name be called faithful, faith should haue no place. But in that newe founde parte of the world, which is scaslie so farre frome vs beyond the line equinoctiall, as our life and maners be dissident frō theirs, no trust nor confidence is in leagues. But the mo and holier ceremonies the league is knette vp with, the soner it is broken by some cauillation founde in the wordes, which many times of purpose be so craftelie put in, and placed, that the bandes cā neuer be so sure nor so stronge, but they will find some hole opē to crepe out at, and to breake both league and treuth. The whiche craftye dealing, yea the whiche fraude and deceite, if they should know it to be practised among priuate mē in their bargaines & contractes, they would incōtinēē crie out at it with an opē mouth, and a sower countenaūce, as an offense moste detestable, and worthe to be punnyshed.

D.iii.

shd

The seconde booke

shed with a shamefull death: yea euen
very they that auance themselves au
thours of lyke counsell geuen to prin
ces. wherfore it may wel be thought,
either that al iustice is but a basse and
alow vertue, and which aualeth it self
farre vnder the highe dignitie of kyn
ges: Or at the least wise, that there be
two iustices, the one merite for the infe
riour sorte of the people, goynge a fote
and creppynge lowe by the grounde, and
bounde down on euery side with many
bandes, by cause it shall not run at ro
uers. The other a princelye vertue,
which like as it is of much hygher ma
iestie, then the other poore iustice, so also
it is of muche more libertie, as to the
which nothing is vnlawfull that it lu
steth after. These maners of princes
(as I said) whiche be there so euell ke
pers of leagues, cause the Utopians,
as I suppose, to make no leagues at al,
which perchaunce would chaunge their
minde if they liued here. Nowbeit they
thinke that though leagues be ne
uer so faithfullpe obserued & kepte, yet
the custome of makynge leagues was
verie

very euell begon. ffor this causeth men
 (as though nations which be separat a
 fford, by y space of a litle hil or a river,
 were coupled together by no societie
 or bonde of nature, to thinke themsel-
 ues borne aduersaries and enemies one
 to an other, & that it were lawfull for
 the one to seke the death and destructiō
 of the other, if leagues were not: yea, &
 that after y leagues be accorded, friend-
 ship doth not grow & encrease: But the
 licence of robbing & stealing doth still
 remaine, as farfurth as for lack of for-
 sight & aduise ment in writing the wo-
 des of the league, any sentēce or clause
 to the contrarie is not therein sufficiēt-
 lie comprehended. But they be a of
 contrarie opinion. That is, that no
 man oughte to be counted an enemye,
 whiche hath done no iniurie. And that
 the felowshippe of nature is a stronge
 league: and that men be better & more
 surely knit together by loue and
 beneuolēce, thē by couenaūtes
 of leagues: by hartie affec-
 tion of minde, then
 by wordes.

The seconde booke

Of warfare.



Warre or battel as a thing very beastly, and yet to no kinde of beastes in so muche vse as to man, they do detest and abhorre. And contrarie to the custome almooste of all other nations, they counte nothyng so much against glorie, as glorie gotten in warre. And therefore though they do daylie practise and exercise themselves in the discipline of warre, and not onlie the men, but also the women vpon certen appointed daies, lest they should be to seke in the feate of armes, if nede should require, yet they neuer go to battell, but either in the defence of their owne countrey, or to driue out of their frendes lande the enemies that haue inuaded it, or by their power to deliuer from the pocke and bondage of tyrannye some people, that be therewith oppressed. Which thing they do of meere
pitye

pitie and compassion. Nowbeit they
 sende helpe to their frendes, not euer
 in their defence. But sometymes also
 to requite and reuenge iniuries befoze
 to them done. But this they do not on-
 lesse their counsell and aduise in the
 matter be asked, whiles it is yet newe
 and freshe. For if they finde the cause
 probable, and if the contrarie part wil
 not restooze agayne suche thynge as
 be of them iustelye demaunded, then
 they be the chiefe autours and makers
 of the warre. Whiche they do not on-
 lie as ofte as by intodes and inuasions
 of soldours praies and booties be dri-
 uen awaye, but then also muche more
 mortally, when their frendes marchan-
 tes in anie lande, either vnder the pre-
 tence of vniuste lawes, or elles by the
 wrestinge & wronge vnderstandinge of
 good lawes, do susteine an vniust accu-
 sation vnder the colour of iustice. Net-
 ther the battell whiche the Utopians
 fought for the Nephelogeates agait the
 Alaopolitanes a litle befoze oure time
 was made for any other cause, but that
 the Nephelogeate marchant men, as the
 Utopians

The seconde booke

Utopia thought, suffered wrong of the
Alaopolitanes, vnder the pretence of
righte. But whether it were righte
or wronge, it was with so cruel & mor-
tal warre reuenged, the countreys rounde
about topringe their helpe & powre to
the pursaunce and malice of bothe par-
ties, that moste flourishing and wealthy
peoples, being some of them shrewedly
shaken, and some of the sharpest beatē,
the mischeues wer not finished nor en-
ded, vn til the Alaopolitanes, at the last
were yelded vp as bondemen into the
iurisdiction of the Nephelogeates. For
the Utopians fought not this war for
themselues. And yet the Nephelogeates
before the warre, when the Alaopolita-
nes flourished in wealth, wer nothing
to be compared with them. So egerlye
the Utopians prosequute the iniuries
done to their frendes : yea, in money
matters, and not their owne likewise.
For if they by couepne or gyle be wyped
beside their goodes, so that no violence
be done to their bodies, they breake
their anger by absteyninge from occu-
pieng with that nation, vn til they haue
made

made satisfaction. Not for because they
 set lesse store by their owne citizens,
 the by their frendes: but that they take
 the losse of their frendes money more hea-
 uelie the y^e losse of their owne. Because
 that their frendes marchaunte men,
 forasmuche as that they leise is their
 owne priuate goods, susteine great dam-
 mage by the losse. But their owne ci-
 tizens leise nothing but of the comen
 goods, & of that whiche was at home
 plentifull and almost superfluous, els
 had it not bene sent furth. Therefore no
 man feleth the losse. And for this cause
 they thinke it to cruell an acte, to re-
 uenge that losse with the deathe of man-
 nie, the incommoditie of the which losse
 no man feleth neither in his life, nor
 yet in his living. But if it chaunce that
 any of their men in any other countrey
 be maimed or killed, whether it be done
 by a comen or a priuate counsel, know-
 yng & tryng out the trueth of the mat-
 ter by their ambassadours, onlesse the
 offenders be rendered vnto them in re-
 compence of the iniurie, they will not
 be appeased: but incontinent they pro-
 claime

The seconde booke

Victorie deare
bought .

claime warre against them. The offenders yelded, they punishe either with death, or with bondage. They be not only sorry, but also ashamed to atchieue the victorie with bloodshed, counting it greate folie to be precious wares to bere. They reioyse and auance themselves, if they vanquish & oppresse their enemies by craft and deceite. And for that act they make a generall triumph, and as yf the matter were manfully handled, they set vp a pyler of stone in the place where they so vanquished their enemies, in token of the victorie. For then they glorie, then they boaste, and cracke that they haue played the men in deede, when they haue so overcome, as no other living creature but onely man could: that is to saye, by the mighte and puiſſaunce of wit. For with bodily strength (say they) beares, lions, boozes, wulkes, dogges, and other wild beastes do fight. And as the moste part of them do passe vs in strength & fierce courage, so in wit & reason we be much stronger then they all. Their chief and principall purpose in warre, is to ob-
taining

teme that thynge, whiche if they had before obtained, they woulde not haue moued battell. But if that be not possible, they take so cruell vengeance of them whiche be in the faulte, that euer after they be aferde to do the like.

This is their chiefe and principall intent, whiche they immediatlie and first of al prosequute, and setforwarde. But yet so, that they be more circumspecte in auoidinge and eschewingge ieopardies, then they be desierous of prayse and renowne. Therefore immediatly after that warre is ones solemnelie denounced, they procure many proclamations signed with their owne common seale to be set vp prauille at one time in their enemies lande, in places moste frequented. In these proclamations they promise greate rewardes to hym that will kill their enemies prince, and somewhat lesse giftes, but them verpe greate also, for euerpe heade of them, whose names be in the saide proclamations conteyned. They be those whom they couit their chiefe aduersaries, next vnto the prince. What soeuer is prescrib

The seconde booke

ded vnto him that killeth any of the proclaimed persons, that is dubled to him that bringeth any of the same to the alive: yea, & to the proclaimed persons themselves, if they wil change their mindes, & come into them, taking their partes, they profer the same greate rewardes with pardone, and suertie of their liues. Wherefore it quickely commeth to passe that their enemies haue all other men in suspection, & be vnfaichfull, and mistrusting among themselves one to another, liuing in great feare, and in no lesse ieopardie. For it is well known, that diuers times the most part of the (& speciallie the prince him selfe) haue bene betraied of them, in whō they put their moste hope & trust. So that there is no maner of act nor dede that giftes and rewardes do not enforce men vnto. And in rewardes they kepe no measure. But remēbring & considering into how great halsarde & ieopardie they cal them, endeuoure themselves to recompence the greatnes of the daunger with like great benefites. And therefore they promise not only wonderful great

greate abundannce of golde, but also landes of greate reuenues lying in most safte places among theire frendes.

And theire promisses they perfourme faithfully withoute anye fraude or couyne. This custome of bypinge and sellynge aduersaries among other people is dysallowed, as a cruel acte of a basse and a cowardlye mynde. But they in this behalfe thinke themselves muche prayse woorthy, as who lyke wyse men by this meanes dispatche greate warres withoute any battell or skymyshe. For they counte it also a dede of pytye and merce, because that by the deathe of a fewe offenders the lyues of a greate number of innocentes, aswel of theire owne men as also of theire enemies be ransomed & saued, which in fighting shoulde haue bene sleane. For they doo no lesse pytye the basse and common sorte of theire enemies people, then they doo theire owne: knowinge y they be driuen & enforced to warre againste their willes by the surpous madnes of theire princes and heades. If by none of these

B. i.

meanes

The seconde booke

meanes the matter goo forwarde, as they woulde haue it, then they procure occasiōs of debate, and dissentiō to be spreadde amonge their enemies. As by bringinge the princes brother, or some of the noble men in hope to obtayne the kingedome. If this waye preuaile not, then they reyse by the people that be nexte neyghbours and borderers to their enemies, and then they sette in their neckes vnder the colour of some olde tittle of ryghte, suche as kynnes doo neuer lacke. To them they promysse their helpe and ayde in their warre. And as for monye they geue them abundaunce. But of their owne cytyzens they sende to them fewe or none. Whome they make so much of, and loue so intirely, that they would not be willing to chaunge anye of the for their aduersaries prince. But their gold and siluer, by cause they kepe it all for this only purpose, they laye it outte frankly and frely: as who shoulde lyue euen as wealthely, if they hadde bestowed it euerye pennye. Yea and besydes their ryches, whiche they

they kepe at home, thei haue also an infinite treasure abrode, by reason that (as I sayde before) manye nations be in their debte. Therefore they hire soldiers out of all countreys and sende them to battayle, but chieflie of the zapoletes. This people is, 500. myles from Utopia easterwarde. They be hideous, sauage, and fierce, dwellinge in wild woodes and high mountaynes, where they were bredde & brought vp. They be of an harde nature, hable to abide and susteine heate, colde, & labour, abhorrynge from all delicate deintyes, occuppunge no husbandrye, nor tillage of the ground, homelye and rude both in the buildinge of their houses & in their apparrel, geuen vnto no goodnes, but onely to the breedinge & bringyng vp of cattel. The mooste parte of their lyuynge is by huntynge and stealynge. They be borne onely to warre, whiche they diligentely and earnestely seke for. And when they haue gotten it, they be wonders glad thereof. They goo furthe of their countreye in greate companges toge-

ther,

ther,

The second booke.

ther, and who soeuer lackethe souldye-
ours, there they proffer their seruice
for small wages. This is onely the
crafte that they haue to gette their li-
uynge by. They mainteyne their li-
fe, by lekinge their deathe. For them
whome wylth they be in wayges they
fghte hardelye, fperelye, and fapthe-
fullye. But they bynde themselves
for no certeyne tyme. But vpon this
coddition they entre into bondes, that
the nexte daye they wyl take parte
with the other syde for greater way-
ges, and the nexte daye after that, they
wyl be readye to come backe agayne
for a lytle more moneye. There be fe-
we warres thereawaye, wherein is not
a greate numbze of them in bothe par-
tyes. Therefore it dayely chauncethe
that nye kynsefolke wylche were hie-
red together on one parte, and there
berre frendelye and familiarlye vfed
themselves one wylth another, shortly
after beinge separate into contrarie
partes, runne one againste another
enupouslye and fperelye: and forget-
tinge bothe kindred and frendeshype,
thruste

thruste theire swordes one in another. And that for none other cause, but that they be hyered of contrarie prynces for a lytle moneye. Whych they doo so hyghlye regarde and esteame, that they will easely be prouoked to chaunge partes for a halfe peny more wayges by the dape. So quykely they haue taken a smacke in couetysenes. Whych for all that is to them no proffyte. For that they gette by fpygh-tyng, immediatelly they spende vnthyrselfe and wretchedlye in ryotte. This people fighteth for the Utopians agaynst all nations, bycause they geue them greater wayges, then anye other nation wyll. For the Utopians lyke as they seke good men to vse wel, so they seke these euell and vicious men to abuse. Whome, when neade requirethe, with promyses of greate rewardes they putte forth into great ieopardyes. From whens the mooste parte of them neuer cummeth agayne to aske their rewardes. But to them that remaine alive they paye & which they promysed faithfully, that they maye be

The second Booke

the more willinge to put themselves in
like daunger another time. Nor y^e Alti-
ptanes passe not how many of the they
bring to destruction. For they beleue y^e
they should doo a verpe good deade for
all mankind, if they could ridde out of
y^e world all that fowle stinking denne
of that most wicked and cursed people.
Next vnto thies they vse y^e soldours
of them for whom they fight. And the
the helpe of their other frendes. And
laste of all, they ioyne to their oune
citizens. Among whome they giue to one of
tried vertue & prowes the reule, goo-
uernance, & conduction of the whole
armye. Under him they appoynte
if other, whiche, whyles he is cause,
be bothe private and oute of offyce.
But yf he be taken or slayne, the one of
the other. yf succedeth hym, as it were
by inherptaunce, And if the seconde
miscarrye, then the thirde taketh his
rowme, leaste that (as the chaunce of
battell is vncertaine and doubtful) the
leopardye or deathe of the capitaine
shoulde bringe the whole armye in
hazard. They chuse soldours out
of

of euery citie those, whych putte fur-
 the themselves wyllynge. For they
 thrust no man forth into warre a-
 gainste his wyl. Bycause they be-
 leue, yf anye man be fearefull and
 faine harted of nature, he wyl not
 onelye doo no manfull and hardy acte
 hym selfe, but also be occasyon of co-
 wardenes to his fellows. But if an-
 ny battell be made agaynste theire
 owne countreye, then they putt these
 cowardes (so that they be stronge bo-
 dyes) in shyppes amonge other bolde
 harted men. Or elles they dyspose
 the vpon the walles, from whens they
 maye not flye. Thus what for sha-
 me that theire enemies be at hande,
 and what for bycause they be without
 hope of runninge awaye, they forgette
 all feere. And manye times extreame
 necessitie turnethe cowardnes into pro-
 wes and manlynes. But as none of
 the is thrust forth of his countrey into
 warre agaynste his wyl, so women
 that be wyllynge to accompany theire
 husbandes in times of warre be not
 prohibited or letted. Yea they prouoke

D. iiii.

and

The seconde booke.

and exhorte them to it with prayles.
And in set fynde the wyues doo stande
enerpe one by theire owne husbādes
fynde. Also euery man is compassed next
aboute with his owne children, kins-
folkes, and aliaunce. That they, whom
nature chiefly moueth to mutual suc-
coure, thus standynge together, maye
healpe one another. It is a great repro-
che, & dishonesty for the husbād to come
home without his wyffe, or the wyffe
without her husbāde, or the sonne
without his father. And therefore if the
other part sticke so harde by it, that the
battel come to their hādes, it is fought
with great slaughter & bloodshed, euen
to the vtter destruction of both partes.
For as they make all the meanes and
wyfyes that maye be to kepe themsel-
ues from the necessitie of fyghtinge,
or that they may dispatche the battell
by their hired soldpours: so whē there
is no remedy, but that they muste nee-
des fight themselves, then they do as cor-
ragiously fall to it, as before, whyles
they myght, they did wiselpe auoyde &
refuse it. Nor they be not most fierce at
the

the first bront. But in cōtinuance by
litle and lytle theire fierce courage en-
creaseth, with so stubborne and obste-
pinate myndes, that they wyl rather dye
then gve backe an ynche. For that
suerte of lvinge, whiche euery man
hath at home beinge ioynd with noo
carefull anxietie or remēbraunce how
theire posteritie shall lve after them
(for this pensifnes oftentymes brea-
keth and abateth couragious stoma-
kes) maketh them stowte and hardye,
and disdaineful to be conquered. Mo-
reouer theire knowledge in chenalre
and feates of armes putteth them in a
good hope. Finally the wholesome and
vertuous opinions, wherein they were
brought vp euē from theire childehode,
partely through learnynge, and parte-
lye throughe the good ordinaunces
and lawes of theire weale publique
augmente and encrease theire manfull
courage. By reason whereof they nei-
ther set so litle store by their liues, that
they will rashely & vnadvisedly caste
them away: nor they be not so farre in
lewd & fond loue therewith, that they
will

The seconde booke.

The capitaine
is chiefely to
be pursued to
thwartente the
battell maye
the longer be
ended.

Will shamefullye couete to kepe them,
whē honeste biddeth leaue thē. When
the battell is hottest & in al places most
fierce & feruent, a bande of chosen and
picked yong men, whiche be sworne to
liue & dye togethers, take vpon thē to
destrope theire aduersaries capitaine.
Whoe they inuade now wth priuy wile-
les, now by open strength. At him they
strike both nere & farre of. He is assa-
iled with a long & a continuall assaulte
freche men still comynge in the we-
ried mens places. And seldome it chas-
ceth (onles he saue hymselfe by flying)
that he is not either slayne, or els take
prisoner, & yeldeo to his enemies aliue.
If they wyne the fpylde, they perse-
cute not theire enemies with the vio-
lent rage of slaughter. For they had ra-
ther take them aliue, then kyl thē. Net-
ther they do so follow the chase & pur-
sute of theire enemies, but they leaue
behinde them one parte of theire hoste
in battaile arrape vnder their standar-
des. In so muche that if al their whole
armie be discumfited and ouercum sa-
uing the rewarde, & that they there-
with

With atchieue the victorie, the they had rather lette al their enemies scape, then to followe them out of array. For they remembre, it hath chaunced vnto themselves more then ones: the whole powre and strength of their hoste being vanquished & put to flight, whilles their enemies resting in the victorie haue persecuted them flying some one way & some another, a smalle compaigne of their men lying in an ambushe, there redy at all occasions, haue sodainelye risen vpon them thus dispersed & scattered oute of arraye, and throught presumption of safety vnadvisedly pursuing the chase: and haue incontinent changed the fortune of the whole battayll: and spite of their fetters wrestinge oute of their handes the sure & vndouted victorie, being a litle before conquered, haue for their parte conquered the conquerers. It is hard to say whether they be craftier in layinge an ambushe, or wittier in auoydinge the same. You would thinke they intende to flye, when they meane nothinge lesse. And contrarie wyse when they go about that purpose, you would

p6

The seconde booke.

Wold beleue it were the leaste parte of
their thought. For if they perceauē the
selfes either ouermatched in nūbre, or
closed in too narrowe a place, the they
remoue their campe either in the night
season with silence, or by some pollicie
they deceaue theire enemies, or in the
day time they retire backe so softelpe,
that it is no lesse teoperdie to medle wth
thē whē they geue backe, thē when they
pzeesse on. They fence and fortifie their
campe sewerlpe with a deape & a brode
trēche. The earth therof is cast iward.
Nor they do not set drudges & slaues
a worke about it. It is doone by the hā
des of the souldiours thē selfes. All the
whole armpe worketh vpon it: excepte
them that kepe watche and warde in
harneis before the trenche for sodaine
auentures. Therefore by the labour of
so manpe a large trenche closinge in a
greate compasse of ground is made in
lesse tyme then anpe man woulde be-
leue. Their armour or harnes,
whiche they weare, is sure and strong
to receaue strokes, and handsome for
all mouinges and gestures of the bo-
dye

These armoure

dye, insomuche that it is not vnweldye
 to wyrmme in. For in the discipline of
 theire warrefare amonge other feates
 thei learne to wyrmme i harnes. Their
 weapons be arrowes alone: whiche
 they shote both strongly and surely,
 not onely fotemen, but also horsemen.
 At hande strokes they vse not swordes
 but pollaxes, whiche be mortall, aswell
 in sharpenes, as in weyghte, bothe for
 fornes and downe strokes. Engines
 for warre they deuyse and inuent won
 ders wittelye. Whiche when they be
 made they kepe verie secreete, leaste yf
 they shoulde be knowne before neade
 requyre, they shoulde be but laughed at
 and serue to no purpose. But in ma
 kyng them hereunto they haue chiefe
 respecte, that they be both easy to be ca
 ried, and handsome to be moued, and
 turned about. True taken with their
 enemies for a shorte time they do so fir
 melye and faythfullye keape, that they
 wyl not breake it: no not though they
 be thereunto prouoked. They doe not
 waste no: destroy theire enemies lande
 with forraginges, no: they burne not
 by

Of trueres

The seconde booke

bp theire coine . Yea , they saue it as
much as may be from being ouerrune
and troden downe either with men or
horses, thinkinge that it growethe for
theire owne vse and profit. They hurt
no man that is vnarmed, onles he be
an espiall. All citiees that be yelded vnto
them, they defende . And suche as
they wyne by force of assaule, they
neither dispoyle nor sacke, but the that
withstode and dyssuaded the yeldynge
vp of the same, they put to deathe, the
other souldiours they punnysh with
bondage. All the weake multitude they
leau butouched. If they knowe that
anye cytezeins counselled to yealde &
rendre vp the citie, to them they geue
parte of the condemned mens goods.
The resydewe they distribute and geue
frelpe amonge them, whose helpe they
had in the same warre . For none
of them selves taketh anye portion of
the praye . But when the battaile is
finished and ended, they put theire
frendes to neuer a penny coste of al the
charges that they were at, but lape it
vpon theire neckes that be conquered.

Thens

Them they burbeine with the whole charge of their expēses, whiche they demaunde of them partelpe in monie to be kept for like vse of battapll, and partelpe in landes of greate reuenues to be payde vnto them yearlye for euer. Suche reuenues they haue now in manye countreis. Whiche by litle and litle rplinge of dyuers and sondry causes be increased aboue, vij. hundred thousand ducates by the yere. Whether they sende forth some of their citizens as *Pleuetenantes*, to liue there sumptuously like men of honoure and renowne. And yet this not withstandinge muche moneye is saved, which cometh to the common treasury: onles it so chaunce, that they had rather trust & coultrepe to the money. Whiche many times they do so long, vntill they haue nede to occupie it. And it selde happeneth, that they demaund al. Of these landes they assigne part vnto the, which at their request & exhortacion put themselves in such iopardies, as I spake of before. If ane prince stirre vp warre agaynst them, intending to inuade their lande, they mete

The seconde booke.

mete hym incontinent oute of theſe
owne borders with greate powre and
ſtrength. For they neuer ſpake help ma-
ke warre in their owne countrey. Nor
they be neuer brought into ſo ex-
treme neceſſitie as to take
helpe out of forreigne
landes into their
owne Ilande.

Of the religions in
Utopia.



There be diuers kin-
des of religion not
only in ſondrie par-
tes of the Ilande,
but alſo in diuers
places of euery ci-
tie. Some worſhip
for God the ſonne:
ſome the mone: ſome, ſome other of the
planettes. There be that giue worſhip
to a man that was ones of excel-
lente vertue or of famous glorie, not
only as God, but alſo as the chiefeſt &
hygheſt God. But the moſte and the
wyleſt parte (reiectionge al theſe) be-
lieue, that there is a certayne Godlie
powre

potte vnknowne, euerlastinge, incom-
 prehensible, inextricable, farre aboue
 the capacitie and retche of mans witte,
 dispersed throughout all the worlde,
 not in signes, but in vertue & power.
 Him they call the father of al. To him
 alone they attribute the beginninges,
 the encreasinges, the proceedinges, the
 chaunges, and the endes of al thinges.
 Neither they geue any diuine honours
 to any other thē to him. Yea al y other
 also, though they be in diuers opinioes,
 yet in this pointe they agree all toge-
 thers with the wisest sorte, in beleuing
 that there is one chiefe and principall
 God, the maker and ruler of the whole
 worlde: Whome they all commonly in
 their countrey language call Mithra.
 But in this they disagree, that among
 some he is counted one, & amonge some
 an other. For euery one of thē, whatso-
 euer y is whiche he taketh for the chief
 god, thinketh it to be the very same na-
 ture, to whose only diuine mighte and
 maiestie, the summe and soueraintie of al
 thinges by the consēt of al people is at-
 tributed and geuen. Howbeit they all
 begin

M. i.

begin

The seconde booke

begyn by litle and litle to forsake and fall from this varietie of superstitions, and to agre together in that religion whiche semethe by reason to passe and excell the residue. And it is not to be doubted, but all the other would long agoe haue bene abolished, but that whatsoeuer vnprosperous thynge hapened to anie of them, as he was mynded to chaunge his religion, the fearefulnesse of people did take it, not as a thynge comminge by chaunce, but as sente from **G D** out of heauen. As thoughe the God, whose honoure he was forsakynge, woulde reuenge that wicked purpose against him. But after they hearde vs speake of the name of **Xpiste**, of his doctrine, lawes, myracles, and of thee no lesse wonderful constancie of so manie martyrs, whose bloude wyllinglye shedde broughte a great numbre of nations throughout all partes of the worlde into their sect: you will not beleue with howe gladde mindes, they agreed vnto the same: whether it were by the secreete inspiration of **G D**, or elles for that they thought

thought it neighest vnto that opinion, which among them is counted the chiefest. Howbeit I thinke this was no small helpe & furtheraunce in the matter, that they harde vs say, that Christ instituted among his, al thinges comē: and that the same communitie doth yet remaine amongest the rightest Christian companies. Merely howsoeuer it came to passe, manye of the consented together in our religion, & were washed in y^e holy water of baptisme. But because among vs foure (for no mo of vs was left a liue, two of our cōpanye being dead) there was no priest, which I am right sorie for: they beinge entered & instructed in al other pointes of our religion, lacke onely those sacramētes, whiche here none but priestes do minister. Howbeit they vnderstād & perceiue the, & be verp desierous of y^e same. Yea, they reasō & dispute y^e matter earnestly among theselues, whether wout y^e sēding of a christiā bishop, one chose out of their own people may receaue the ordie of priesthod. And truely they were minded to chuse one. But at my depar

Religious houses.

The seconde booke

ture from them they had chosen none.
They also which do not agree to Chri-
stes religion, feare no man from it, nor
speake against any man that hath recei-
ued it. Sauing that one of our cōpany
in my presence was sharpely punished.
He as soone as he was baptised, began
against our willes, with more earnestte
affection, then wisdom, to reason of
Christes religiō: and began to ware so
hote in his matter, that he did not on-
lye preferre our religiō before al other,
but also did vtterly despise & cōdēpne
all other, calling thē prophane, & the fo-
lowers of them wicked & deuclish, and
the children of euerlastinge dāpnation.
When he had thus longe reasoned the
matter, they laid holde on him, accused
him, and condēpned him into exile, not
as a despiser of religion, but as a sedi-
cious person, & a raiser vp of dissentiō
amonge the people. For this is one of
the auncientest lawes amonge thē: that
no man shall be blamed for resoninge
in the maintenaunce of his owne religi-
on. For kpng Utopus, euē at the firste
beginning, hearing y the inhabitantes
of

of the land ther before his coming the-
 ther, at continuall dissention & strife a-
 monge themselves for their religions:
 perceiving also that this comon dissen-
 tion (whiles euery seuerall secte tooke
 seuerall partes in fighting for their coun-
 trey) was the only occasion of his con-
 quest ouer them al, as soon as he had got-
 ten the victorie: firste of all he made a
 decree, that it should be lawfull for eu-
 rie man to fauoure & folow what reli-
 gion he would, & that he mighte do the
 best he could to bring other to his opi-
 nion, so that he did it peaceablie, gentle-
 lie, quietly, & soberlie, without hastie &
 contentions rebuking & inuehing agai-
 nst other. If he could not by faire and gen-
 cle speche induce them vnto his opinio-
 n, yet he should vse no kinde of violence,
 and refraine from displeasaunte & sedi-
 tious woordes. To him that would be
 hemently and feruentlye in this cause
 strue & contende was decreed, banish-
 ment or bondage. This lawe did kynge
 Utopus make not only for the mainte-
 nance of peace, which he saw through
 continuall contention & mortal hatred

Seditious reu-
 sioners punis-
 shed.

The seconde booke

utterly extinguished : but also because
he thought this decree should make for
the furtheraunce of religion. Wherof
he durst define and determine nothing
vnadvisedlie, as douting whether god
desiring manifolde & diuerse sortes of
honour, would inspire sondry mē with
sondrie kindes of religion. And this su-
erly he thought a very vnmete & foolish
thing, & a pointe of arrogant presump-
tion, to compell all other by violence &
threatenings to agre to thesame, that
thou beleuest to be trew. Furthermore
though there be one religion, whiche
alone is trew, & al other vaine & super-
stitious, yet did he wel foresee (so that
the matter were handeled wth reason, &
sober modestie) that the trueth of the
own powre would at the last issue out
and come to lpghte. But if contention
and debate in that behalfe should con-
tinuallpe be vled, as the worst men
be mooste obstinate and stubborne,
and in their euill opinion mooste con-
stante: he perceaued that then the beste
and holpest religion woulde be troden
vnderfote and destroyed by most vaine

superstitions, euen as good corne is by
thornes and weedes ouergrown and
chooked. Therfore all this matter he
lefte vndiscussed, and gaue to euerpe
man free libertie and choise to beleue
what he woulde. Sauinge that he ear-
nestely and straitely charged them,
that no man shoulde conceaue so vile
and baale an opinion of the dignitie of
mans nature, as to think that the sou-
les do die and perishe with the bodye:
or that the world runeth at al auentur-
res gouerned by no diuine prouidence.
And therfore thei beleue that after this
life vices be extreameley punished and
vertues bountifully rewarded. Thym
that is of a contrary opinion they cou-
nte not in the numbze of men, as one that
hathe aualed the heighe nature of hys
soule to the vialnes of brute beastes bo-
dies: muche lesse in the numbze of their
citizēes, whose lawes and ordenāces,
if it were not for feare, he wold noth-
ing at al esteeme. For you maye be suer that
he will studie either with craft priuely
to mocke, or els violently to breake the
commen lawes of his countrey, in

No vile opin-
on to be con-
ceined of mā's
worthy nature

Whom

The seconde booke

**Irreligious
people secluded
from all
honours.**

**A very strong
sayinge.**

**Deceit & false-
hood detested.**

Whom remaineth no further feare the
of the lawes, nor no further hope then
of the bodie. Wherefore he that is thus
minded is deprived of all honours, ex-
cluded from all offices, and reiecte frō
all cōmon administratiōs in the weale
publique. And thus he is of all sortes
despised, as of an vnprofitable, & of a
base & vile nature. Howbeit they put
him to no punishment, because they be
persuaded, that it is in no mans power
to beleue what he list. No nor they con-
straine hym not with threatninges to
dissemble his minde, & shew countenance
contrarie to his thought. For deceit &
falshood & all maners of lies, as next vn-
to fraude, they do merueleusly deteste
and abhorre. But they suffer him not
to dispute in his opinion, & that onely
amonge the comen people. For els
aparte amonge the prestes and men of
grauitie they do not onely suffer, but
also exhorte him to dispute & argue: ho-
ping that at the last, that madnes will
geue place to reason. There be also
other, and of them no small numbre,
which

which be not forbidden to speake thep
 mindes, as growding their opinion vpon
 some reason, beyng in their liuing nei-
 ther euell nor vicious. Their heresie
 is much cōtrarie to the other. For they
 beleue that the soules of brute beastes
 be immortall and euerlasting. But no-
 thinge to be compared with oures in
 dignitie, neither ordeined and predesti-
 nate to like felicitie. For al they beleue
 certainly and seuerly that mans blesse
 shal be so great, that they do mourne &
 lament euery mans sicknes, but no mā's
 death, oneles it be one whome they see
 depart frō his life carefullie, & agaynst
 his will. For this they take for a verie
 euell token, as though the soule beyng
 in dispaire, & vexed in cōscience, through
 some priuie and secret forfeiting of the
 punishment now at hande were aseride
 to depart. And they thinke he shall not
 be welcome to God, which when he is
 called, runneth not to him gladly, but
 is drawen by force and sore against his
 will. They therfore that see this kinde
 of deathe, do abhorre it, and them that
 so die, they burie wth sorow and silence

And

A maruelous
 strange opi-
 nion touching
 the soules of
 brute beastes.

To die buri-
 lyngly an euell
 token.

The seconde booke

Irreligious
people secluz
ded from all
honours.

A very straſſe
layinge.

Deceit & fals-
hod detected.

Whom remaineth no further feare the
of the lawes, nor no further hope then
of the bodie. Wherefore he that is thus
minded is deprived of all honours, ex-
cluded from all offices, and reiecte frō
all cōmon administratiōs in the weale
publique. And thus he is of all sortes
despised, as of an vnprofitable, & of a
base & vile nature. Howbeit they put
him to no punishment, because they be
persuaded, that it is in no mans power
to beleue what he list. No nor they con-
straine hym not with threatninges to
dissemble his minde, & shew countenaūce
contrarie to his thought. For deceit &
falshod & all maners of lies, as next vnto
fraude, they do meruelouslie deteste
and abhorre. But they suffer him not
to dispute in his opinion, & that onely
amonge the common people. For els
aparte amonge the prestes and men of
graute they do not onely suffer, but
also exhorte him to dispute & argue: ho-
ping that at the last, that madnes will
geue place to reason. There be also
other, and of them no small numbere,
which

which be not forbidden to speake thep
 mindes, as growding their opinion vpon
 some reason, beyng in their living net-
 ther euell nor vicious. Their heresie
 is much cōtrarie to the other. For they
 beleue that the soules of brute beastes
 be immortall and euerlasting. But no-
 thyng to be compared with oures in
 dignitie, neither ordeined and predesti-
 nate to like felicitie. For al they beleue
 certainly and seuerly that mans blesse
 shal be so great, that they do mourne &
 lament euery mans sickness, but no mā's
 death, oneles it be one whome they see
 depart frō his life carefullie, & agaynst
 his will. For this they take for a verpe
 euell token, as though the soule beyng
 in dispaire, & vexed in cōscience, through
 some priuile and secret forefeilling of the
 punishment now at hande were aferte
 to depart. And they thinke he shall not
 be welcome to God, which when he is
 called, runneth not to him gladly, but
 is drawen by force and sore agaynst his
 will. They therefore that see this kinde
 of deathe, do abhorre it, and them that
 so die, they burie wth sorow and silence

And

A marvelous
 strange opi-
 nion touching
 the soules of
 brute beastes.

To die burt
 lyngly an euell
 token.

The seconde booke

A willing and
a merpe deathe
not to be lame
ted.

And when they haue prayed God to be
mercifull to the soule, & mercifullly to
pardō the infirmities therof, they couer
the dead coorse with earth. Contrarie-
wise all that departe merely and ful of
good hope, for thē no mā mourneth, but
followeth the heerse with ioyfull syn-
ging, cōmending the soules to God wth
great affectiō. And at the last, not with
mourning sorrow, but with a great re-
uerēce they bourne the bodies. And in
the same place they sette vp a pillar of
stone, with the dead mans titles therein
graued. When they be come home they
reherse his vertuous maners and his
good dedes. But no part of his life is so
oft or gladly talked of, as his meri deth.
They thinke that this remēbraunce of
the vertue & goodnes of the dead doeth
behemētly prouoke & enforce the liuīg
to vertue. And that nothing cā be more
pleasaunt and acceptable to the deade.
Whō they suppose to be present amōg
thē, whē they talke of them, though to
the dull & feble etelight of mortall men
they be inuisible. For it were an uncon-
uenient thinge, that the blessed shoulde
not

not be at libertie to goo whether they
would. And it were a pointe of greate
unkindnes in them to haue vtterly cast
awaye the desire of visitinge and seing
their frendes, to whome they were in
their life time ioynd by mutuall loue
and amitie. Whiche in good men after
their deathe they counte to be rather
increased then diminished. They beleue
therefore that the deade be presentlie
conuersant amonge the quicke, as be-
holders and witnesses of all their wor-
des and deedes. Therefore they go more
corragiously to their busines as hauing
a trust and assistance in such ouerseers.
And this same belefe of the present con-
uersation of their forefathers & aunces-
tors among them, feareth them from
all secreete dishonestie. They vtterly
despise & mocke soothsayings & diuina-
tions of thinges to come by the flighte
of voices of birdes, and all other diui-
nations of vaine superstition, whiche
in other countreys be in greate obser-
uation. But they highly esteeme
and worshyppe miracles that come
by no healde of nature, as woorkes
and

Soothsayers
not regarded
nor credited.

Miracles.

The seconde booke

The life con-
templatiue.

The life ac-
tiue.

and witnessers of the presente power of
God. And suche they saie do chauce
there verpe often. And sometimes in
great and doubtfull matters, by com-
men intercession and prayers, they pro-
cure and obtaine thē with a sure hope
and confidence, and a stedfast belefe.

They thinke that the contemplation
of nature, and the prayse thereof com-
minge, is to God a very acceptable ho-
noure. Yet there be many so earnestlye
bent and affectioned to religion, that
they passe no thig for lernig, nor geue
their mides to any knowledge of thin-
ges. But ydelnes they vtterly forsake
and eschue, thinking felicitie after this
life to be gotten & obtained by busie la-
bours & good exercises. Some therfore
of thē attende vpon the sicke, some amēde
high waies, clesse ditches, repaire bryd-
ges, digge turfes, grauell, and stones,
fel and cleaue wood, bring wood, corne
and other thinges into the cities in car-
tes, and serue not onelye in common
woorkes, but also in priuate laboures
as seruauntes, yea, more thē bondmen.
For what so euer vnpleasaunt, harde,
and

and vyle worke is auye to here, from the
whiche labour, lothsomnes, and despe-
ratiō doth frap other, al that they take
vpon them willingly and gladly, procu-
ring quiete & rest to other, remaininge
in continual wooke and labour them-
selues, not embraidinge others there-
with. They netther reprove other
mens liues, nor glorie in theire owne,
These men the more seruiceable they
behaue theselues, the more they be ho-
noured of all men. Yet they be diuided
into two sectes. The one is of thē that
liue single & chaste, absteyning not onely
from the companie of women, but also
from eating of fleche, and some of them
from all maner of beastes, whiche vt-
terly reiecting the pleasures of this pre-
sent life as hurtfull, be all wholpe set
vpon the desier of the lyfe to come by
watchynge, and sweatynge, hooping
mortalty to obtaine it, being in the meane
season merie and lustie. The other secte
is no lesse desirous of labour, but they
embrace matrimonye, not despisyng
the solace therof, thinking that they cā
not be discharged of their bounden du-
ties

The seconde booke

It is not all
one to be wise
and good.

Wicces,

ties towarde nature without labour
and toyle, nor towarde their natie
countrey without procreation of chil
dren. They abstaine from no pleasure
that doeth nothinge hinder them from
laboure. They loue the flesh of foure
footed beastes, because they beleue that
by y^e meate they be made hardier & stron
ger to worke. The Utopians counte
this secte the wiser, but the other the
holier. Which in that they preferre sin
gle life before matrimony, & that sharp
life before an easier life, if herein they
grounded vpon reason they would mock
them. But now forasmuch as they say
they be led to it by religio, they honor
& worship the. And these be they whom
in their language by a peculiar name,
they cal *Wuthrescas*, the which word
by interpretation signifieth to vs men
of religion or religious mē. They haue
priestes of exceeding holines, & therefore
very few. For there be but xij. in euery
citie accordinge to the number of their
churches, sauing when they go furthe
to battell. For than. viij. of them go
furth with the arme: in whose steade a
so

to manie nedes be made at home. But
the other at their retourne home again
reentre euery one into his owne place,
they that be aboue the numbꝛe, vntill
suche tyme as they succede into the pla-
ces of the other at their dyinge, be in
the meane season continuallie in com-
panie with the bishoppe. For he is the
chiefe head of the al. They be chosen of
the people, as the other magistrates be
by secrete voices for the auoydinge of
strife. After their electiō they be conse-
crate of their owne cōpanie. They be o-
uerseers of al diuine matters, orderers
of religions, and as it wer iudges and
maisters of maners. And it is a great
dishonestie & shame to be rebuked or
spoke to by any of the for dissolute and
incōtinēt liuing. But as it is their of-
fice to geue good exhortatiōs & counsell,
so is it y^e dutie of the prince & the other
magistrates to correct and punishe offē-
ders, sauinge that the priestes, whome
they find excedding vicious liuers, the
they excommunicate from hauing anye
interest in diuine matters. And there is
almoste no punishment amonge them
more

Excommunicati-
tion.

The seconde booke

more feared. For they runne in verie
great infamie, and be inwardly tormen-
ted with a secret feare of religion, and
shall not long scape free with their bo-
dies. For vnlesse they by quicke repen-
taunce approue the amēdement of their
liues to the priestes, they be taken and
punished of the counsel, as wicked and
irreligious. Both childhode and youth
is instructed, and taught of them. For
they be not more diligente to instruct
them in learning, then in vertue & good
maners. For they vse with verie great
endeuour and diligence to put into the
heades of their children, whiles they be
yet tender and pliant, good opinions
and profitable for the conseruation of
their weale publique. Which whē they
be once rooted in children, do remayne
with them al their life after, and be wō-
ders profitable for the defence & main-
tenaūce of the state of the cōmē welth.
Whiche neuer decaieeth but throughe
vices risinge of euill opinions. The
priestes, onles they be women (for that
kinde is not excluded from priesthoope,
howbeit fewe be chosen, and none but
widdowes

women pale-
ses.

Widdowes and old womē) the mē prie-
 stes, I saye, take to their wives the chie-
 fest women in all their countrey. For
 to no office amōg the vtopians is more
 honour and preeminence geuen. In so
 much that if they commit any offence,
 they be vnder no cōmen iudgemēt, but
 be left only to god & themselves. For they
 thinke it not lawfull to touch him with
 mannes hande, be he neuer so vicious,
 whiche after so singular a sort was de-
 dicate and consecrate to god, as a holly
 offering. This maner may they easely
 obserue, bicause they haue so fewe prie-
 stes, & do chuse the with such circūspec-
 tion. For it scarcely euer chaūceth, that
 the moste vertuous amonge vertuous,
 which i respect only of his vertue is a-
 uanced to so high a dignitie, can fall to
 vice & wickednes. And if it should chaū-
 ce in dede (as mans nature is mutable
 and fraile) yet by reaso they be so fewe,
 and promoted to no might nor powre,
 but only to honoure, it were not to be
 feared & anye great dammage by them
 should happen and ensue to the cōmen
 wealthe. They haue so rare and fewe

The maiestie
 and preemi-
 nence of
 priestes

R. i.

priest

The seconde booke

23
priestes, least if the honour were cōmu-
nicated to many, & digniti of the ordie,
which amōg the now is so highly este-
med, should rūe in contēpt. Speciallpe
bicause they thincke it hard to find ma-
ny so good, as to be meet for that digni-
ty, to the executiō & discharge whereof
it is not sufficiente to be endued with
meane vertues. Furthermore these prie-
stes be not more esteemed of their owne
countrey mē, then they be of fozein &
straunge cōtreis. Which thinge maye
hereby plainly appere. And I thinke al-
so & this is the cause of it. For whyles
armies be fighting together in opē feld
they a litle beside not farre of knele
vpō their knees i their hallowed vesti-
mētes, holding vp their hādes to hea-
uen: praing first of all for peace, nexte
for victorie of their owne parte, but to
neither part a bluddy victorie. If their
hoſt gette the vpper hād, they runne in
to the mayne battayle, and restrayne
their owne men from sleping & cruelly
pursuinge their vanquished enemies.
Whych the enemies, yf they doo but see
them and speake to them, it is ynoughe
for

for the safegarde of their lyues. And the touching of their clothes deserveth and saueth al their gooddes fro raine and spoyle. This thinge hath enuanced them to so greate worship and trewe maiesty among al natiōs, that manye times they haue as wel preserved their own citizes from y^e cruel force of their enemies, as they haue their enemies from the furpous rage of their owne men. For it is well known, that when their owne army hath reculed, and in dyspayre turned backe, and runne away, their enemies perswape pursuing with slaughter and spoyle, the the priestes cumming betwene haue stayed the murder, and parted bothe the hostes.

So that peace hath bene made and concluded betwene bothe partes vpon equall and indifferent conditions. For there was neuer any nation, so fierce, so cruell, and rude, but they hadde them in suche reuerence, that they courted their bodyes hallowed and sanctified, and therefore not to be violentlye and vnreuerentlye touched. They kepe holle the firste and the laste daye of

R. H.

every

The second booke.

The obserua-
tion of holy
daies amonge
the Wropians

Their chur-
ches

Churches of
diuine light
and a reason
why

euery moneth and yere, disordringe
the yere into monethes, whiche they
measure by the course of the moone, as
they doo the yere by the course of the
sonne. The fyrste dayes they call in
theire language Apnemernes, and the
laste Trapemernes, the whiche wordes
may be interpreted, primum feste and
finis festi, or els in our speache, first feast
and last feast. Their churches be verie
gorgeous, and not onely of fine and
curious workmanship, but also (which
in the fewenes of them was necessary)
very wide and large, & hable to receaue
a great company of people. But they be
al sumwhat darke. Howbeit that was
not donne through ignorance in build-
inge, but as they say, by the counsel of
the priestes. Bicause they thought that
ouer much light doeth disperse mens co-
gitations, whereas in diuine & doubt-
ful light they be gathered together, &
more earnestly fixed vpon religion & de-
uotion: which bicause it is not there of
one sort among all men, and yet all the
kinds and fashions of it, (thoughe they
be sondry and manifold, agre together

in the honour of the diuine nature, as
 goyng diuers wayes to one ende: there-
 fore nothing is seene nor heard in ¶ chur-
 ches, but that seemeth to agree indiffe-
 rently with the all. If there be a distinct
 kind of sacrifice peculiar to anye seue-
 ral secte, that they execute at home in
 their owne houses. The cōmon sacrifici-
 ces be so ordered, that they be no déro-
 gation nor prejudice to anye of the pri-
 uate sacrifices and religions. There-
 fore no ymage of anye god is seene in
 the church, to the intente it maye bee
 free for euery man to conceiue god by
 their religion after what likenes & si-
 militude they will. They call vpon no
 peculiar name of god, but only Mithra
 In the which word they all agree toge-
 ther in one nature of the diuine maiesty
 whatsoeuer it be. No prayers bee vsed
 but suche as euery man maye boldly
 pronounce withoute the offendinge of
 anye secte. They come therefore to the
 church, the laste day of euery moneth
 and yeare in the euenyng yet fasting,
 there to giue thanks to G D D for
 that they haue prosperously passed

R.iii.

ouer

The seconde booke

ouer the yere or monethe, wherof that
hollye daye is the laste daye. The
nexte daye they come to the church ear-
lye in the morning, to praye to God
that they maye haue good fortune and
successe all the newe yere or monethe
wherof they doo begynne of that same
hollye daye. But in the holly dayes
that be the laste dayes of the monethes
and yeres, before they come to the
churche, the wyues fall downe prostrat
before their husbandes feet at home, &
the children before the feete of their pa-
rentes, confessinge and acknowleginge
themselves offenders either by some actur
all dede, or by omission of their duty, &
desire pardo for their offense. Thus yf
anye cloud of prync displeasure was
risen at home, by this satisfaction it is
ouerblown, that they may be presente
at the sacrifices with pure and chari-
table mindes. For they be aferd to cōe
there with troubled consciēces. There-
fore if they knowe themselves to beare
anye hatred or grudge towardes anye
man, they presume not to come to y sa-
crifices, before they haue reconciled
them

The confessi-
on of the wro-
nges

themselves and purged their consciences, for feare of greate vengeance and punishment for their offense. When they come thether, the men goo into the righte syde of the churche, & the women into the lefte syde. There they place themselves in suche ordre, that all they whiche be of the male kinde in every household sitte before the goodmā of y^e house, and they of the female kinde before the goodwyfe. Thus it is forscene that all their gestures and behauiours be marked and obserued abroad of thē by whose authority and discipline they be gouerned at home. This also they diligently see vnto, that the yonger euermore be coupled with his elder, lest children beinge toynd together, they should passe ouer y^e time iⁿ childish wa-
tōnes, wherein they ought principally to conceaue a religious and deuoute feare towards god: which is the chieffe and almost y^e only incitatio to vertu. They kill no liuing beast in sacrifice, nor they thinke not that the merciful clemencie of god hath delite in bloude and slaughter, which hath geuen life to beastes to

An order for
places in the
Churche.

R. iiii.

the

The seconde booke.

Ceremonies

the intēt they should leue. They burne
frāckēſſence, and other ſweet ſauours,
and light alſo a greate numbze of waxe
candelles and tapers, not ſuppoſinge
this geare to be any thing auapable to
the diuine nature, as neither þ prayers
of mē. But this vnhurtful and harme-
les kind of worſhip pleaſeth them. And
by thies ſweet ſauoures and lightes, &
other ſuch ceremonies mē feeke theſel-
fes ſecretlye liſted vp, & encouraged to
deuotion with more willynge and fer-
uent hartes. The people weareth in
the church white apparell. The prieſt
is clothed in chaungeable colours.
Whiche in workemaſhip be excel-
lent, but in ſtuffe not verie pretious.
For theire veſtimentes be neither em-
brandered with gold, nor ſet with pre-
cious ſtones. But they be wrought ſo
ſynely and cōtingelpe with diuers fe-
thers of foules, that the eſtimation of
no coſtely ſtuffe is hable to cōſteruaile
the price of the worke. Furthermore in
theſe birdes fethers, & i the deſce ordze
of them, whiche is obſerued in theire
ſetting, they ſaye, is cōteyned certaine
diuine

diuine misteries. The interpretation
whereof knowe, whiche is diligentlpe
taught by the priestes, they be put in
remembraunce of the bountifull bene-
fites of God towarde them: and of the
loue and honoure whiche of theire be-
halfe is due to God: and also of their
duties one towarde another. When
the priest first cometh out of the vestry
thus apparelled, they fall downe inco-
cinent euery one reuerentlpe to the
ground, with so still silence on euery
part, that the very fashion of the thinge
strieth into them a certayne feare of
God, as though he were there personal-
ly presente. When they haue lien a litle
space on the ground, the priest geueth
them a signe for to rise. Then they sing
prayles vnto God, whiche they inter-
mixt with instrumentes of musike, for
the moste parte of other fassions then
these that we vse in this parte of the
worlde. And like as some of ours bee
much sweeter then theirs, so some of
theirs doo farre passe ours. But in
one thinge doubtles they goo exceeding
farre beyonde vs. For all their musike
bothe

Theire church
musike

The seconde booke.

bothe that they playe vpon instrumentes, and that they singe with mannes voyce dothe so resemble and expresse naturall affections, the sound & tune is so applied and made agreable to the thinge, that whether it bee a prayer, or els a dytty of gladnes, of patience, of trouble, of mourninge, or of anger: the fassion of the melodye dothe so represente the meaning of the thing, that it doth wonderfullpe moue, stirre, pearce, and enflame the hearers myndes. At the laste the people and the priest together rehearse solempne prayers in woordes, expresse pronounced, so made that euerye man maye priuatelye applye to hymselfe that which is commonlye spoken of all. In these prayers euerye man recogniseth and knowledgethe God to be hys maker, hys gouernoure, & the principal cause of all other goodnes, thankynge him for so many benefites receaved at his hande. But namelpe that throughe the fauoure of God he hath chaunced into that publique weale, whiche is moste happye and welthye, and hath chosen
that

Prayers,

that religion, whiche he hopeth to be
moſte true. In the whiche thinge if he
doo anye thinge erre, or yf there be any
other better then eyther of theſe is, being
moze acceptable to God, he deſireth
him that he wyl of his goodnes let him
haue knowledge thereof, as one that
is ready too followe what way ſoeuer
he wyl leade hym. But yf this foume
and faſſion of a common wealthe bee
beſte, and his owne religion moſt true
and perfecte, then he deſprethe God
to geue hym a conſtaunte ſtedfaſtneſſe
in the ſame, and too brynge all other
people to the ſame ordre of lyuynge,
and to the ſame opinion of God onles
there bee anye thinge that in this
diuerſitye of religions dothe delite his
unſercheable pleaſure. To be ſhorte he
prayeth hym, that after his deathe he
maye come to hym. But how ſoone or
late that he dare not aſſigne or deter-
mine. Howebeit, if it myght ſtande
with his maiesties pleaſure, he woulde
be muche gladder to dye a paynefull
deathe & ſo to goo to God, then by longe
lyuynge in worldye proſperitye to bee
awaye

The second booke.

awaye from him. When this prayer is
said they fall doune to the ground again
and a litle after they rise vp and go to
dinner. And the residue of the daye
they passe ouer in playes, and exercise
of cheualrye. Nowe I haue declared &
described vnto you, as truely as I
coude the fourme & ordre of that com-
men wealth, which verely in my iudg-
ment is not only the beste, but also that
which alone of good right maye claime
& take vpon it the name of a common
wealth or publique weale. For in other
places they speake stil of the common
wealth. But euery man procureth his
owne priuate gaine. Here where no-
thinge is priuate, the common affaires
bee earnestlye looked vpon. And true-
ly on both partes they haue good cause
so to do as they do. For in other coun-
treys who knoweth not that he shall
sterue for hunger, onles he make some
seuerall prouision for himselfe, though
the common wealthe floz the neuer so
much in ryches? And therefore he is
compelled euen of verie necessitie to
haue regarde to him selfe, rather then
to

to the people, that is to saie, to other.
 Contrarywise there where all thinges
 be commē to euery man, it is not to be
 doubted that any man shal lacke anye
 thinge necessary for his priuate vscs:
 so that the comē store houses & barnes
 be sufficiently stored. For there no-
 thinge is distributed after a vnggelythe
 sorte, neither there is anye poore man
 or begger. And though no man haue
 anye thinge, yet euery man is ryche.
 For what cā be more ryche, thā to lye
 slofully & merely, without al grefe &
 pēssenes: Not caring for his owne ly-
 uing, nor vexed or troubled wth his wifes
 importunate complayntes, nor drea-
 dyng pouertie to his sonne, nor sor-
 rowyng for his daughters dowrye?
 Yea they take no care at all for the ly-
 uing and wealthe of themselves and al
 theirs, of theire wifes, theire chyld-
 ren, theire nephewes, theire chyldrens
 chyldren, and all the succession that
 euer shal followe in theire posteritie.
 And yet besydes this there is no lesse
 prouision for them that were once la-
 bourers, and be nowe weake and im-
 potent,

The second Booke

potent, then for them that do nowe labour and take payne. There nowe woulde I see, yf anye man dare bee so bolde as to compare with this equytie, the iustice of other nations. Among whom, I forsake God, if I can sende any signe or token of equitie & iustice. For what iustice is this, that a ryche golde Smythe, or an vlsurer, or to bee shorte anye of them, which either doo nothing at all, or els that whych they doo is such, that it is not very necessary to the common wealth, should haue a pleasaunte and a welthe lyuinge, either by Idlenes, or by vnnecessarie busines: whē in the meane tyme poore labourers, carters, pronsmythes, carpenters, and plowmen, by so greate and continual toyle, as drawing & bearing beasts be skant hable to susteine, & againe so necessary toyle, that without it no common wealth were hable to continue & endure one yere, should yet get so harde and poore a lyuing, & lyue so wretched & miserable a lyfe, that the state and condition of the labouringe beasts maye seme muche better and welthier

Welthier? For they be not put to so
continuall labour, nor theire lyvinge
is not muche worse, yea to them muche
pleasaunter, takyng no thoughte in
the meane season for the tyme to come.
But these seilpe poore wretches be pre-
sently tormented with barreyne & vn-
frutefull labour. And the remembrance
of theire poore indigent and beggerlye
olde age kylleth them vp. For theire
dayly wages is so lytle, that it will not
suffice for the same daye, muche lesse it
yeldeth any ouerplus, that may daylye
be layde vp for the relpese of olde age.
Is not this an vniust and an vnkynde
publique weale, whiche gyueth great
fees and rewardes to gentlemen, as
they call them, and to goldsmithes, &
to suche other, whiche be either ydle
persones, or els onely flatterers, and de-
uysers of vayne pleasures: And of the
contrary parte maketh no gentle pro-
uision for poore plowmen, coltars, la-
bozers, carters, yronsmithes, and car-
penters: Without whome no commie
wealth cā cōtinue. But after it hath
abused the labours of theire lussie and
flouering

The seconde booke.

flourishing age, at the laste when they be
oppressed with olde age and sickness:
being nedde, poore, and indigent of all
thinges, the forgettyng their so manye
paynfull watchinges, not remembryng
their so manye and so greate benefites,
recompenseth and acquyteth them
moste unkindly with myserable death.
And yet besides this the riche men not
only by priuate fraud, but also by com-
mune lawes do every day pluck & snatche
awaye from the poore some parte of
their daily liuing. So where as it seemed
before vniuste to recompense with un-
kindnes their paynes that haue bene be-
nificiall to the publique weale, now
they haue to this their wrong & vniuste
dealinge (which is yet a muche worse
pointe) geuen the name of iustice, pra-
ctise that by force of a law. Therfore whē I
consider and way in my mind all these
commen wealthes, which now a dayes
any where do flourish, so god helpe me, I
can perceaue nothing but a certein con-
spiracy of riche men procuringe their
owne comodities vnder the name and
title of the comen wealth. They inuene
and

and deuise all meanes and craftes, first how to kepe safely, without feare of lesing, that they haue vniustly gathered together, & next how to hire and abuse the worke and labour of the poore for as litle money as may be. These deuises, when the riche mē haue decreed to be kept and obserued vnder coloure of the comminaltie, that is to saie, also of the poore people, the they be made lawes. But these most wicked and vicious men, when they haue by their vnassazble couetousnes deuised among themselves al those thinges, which woulde haue sufficed all men, yet how farre be they from the welth and felicitie of the Utopian common wealth? Out of the which, in that all the desire of money with the vse thereof is utterly seclused & banished, howe great a heape of cares is cut away? How great an occasiō of wickednes and mischief is plucked vp by y^e rootes? For who knoweth not, that fraud, theft, rauine, brauling, quarrelling, brabbling, striffe, chiding, cōtentiō, murder, treasō, poisoning, which by daily punishmētes are rather reueged

Contempte of
Money.

S. i.

then

The seconde booke.

then refrained, do dye when money de-
ceith? And also that feare, griefe, care, la-
bours, and watchinges do perishe euen
the very same moment that money pe-
risheth? Psea pouerty it selfe, which on-
ly seemed to lacke money, if money were
gone, it also would decrease & vanishe
away. And that you may perceauie this
more plainly, consider with your selves
some barein & vnfructefull yeare, wher-
in manie thousandes of people haue
starued for honger: I dare be bolde to
say, & in the end of that penury so much
corne or grain might haue bene found i
the rich mens barnes, if they had bene
searched, as being diuided among them
whome famine and pestilence then consu-
med, no man at al should haue felt that
plague and penury. So easely might mē
gette their liuing, if that same worthe
princesse lady money did not alone stop
vp the way betwene vs and oure ly-
uing, whiche a gaddes name was very
excellētly deuised & inuēted, that by her
the way therto should be opened. I am
srewer the ryche men perceauie this,
nor they be not ignoraunte how much
better

better it were too lacke noo necessarie
 thing, then to abunde with ouer muche
 superfluite: to be ryd oute of innumera-
 ble cares & troubles, the to be beleiged
 and encombred with great riches. And
 I dowte not that either the respecte of
 euery mans priuate comoditie, or els
 the authority of oure sauoure Christe
 (which for his great willoom could not
 but know what were best, & for his in-
 estimable goodnes could not but counsel
 to that which he knew to be best) wold
 haue brought all the worlde longe agoo
 into the lawes of this weale publique,
 if it wer not y^e one only beast, y^e priuice
 and mother of all mischiefe Pride, doth
 withstande and let it. She measureth
 not wealch and prosperite by her owne
 comodities, but by the miserie & incom-
 modities of other, she would not by her
 good will be made a goddesse, yf there
 were no wretches left, ouer whom she
 might like a scorneful ladie rule & tri-
 umph, ouer whose miseries her felici-
 ties mighte shyne, whose pouertie she
 myghte bere, tormente, and encrease
 by gorgiouslye settinge furthe her ri-
 chesse. Thys hell hounde creapeth in-

Amernelous
 saynge.

Prydes

S. y.

to

The seconde booke

Comens hartes: and plucketh the backe
from entering the right pathe of life, &
is so depely roted in mens brestes, that
she cā not be plucked out. This fourme
and fashon of a weale publique, which
I would gladly wish vnto al nations:
I am glad yet that it hath chaunced to
the vtopiās, which haue folowed those
institutions of life, whereby they haue
laid such foundations of their commō
wealth, as shal cōtinew & last not only
wealthelp, but also as far as mā's wit
may iudge and cōiecture, shall endure
for euer. For, sepng the chiefe causes of
ambitiō & sedition, with other vices be
plucked vp by the rootes, and abando-
ned at home, there can be no ieopardie
of domesticall dissention, whiche alone
hathe caste vnder foote and brought to
noughte the well fortified and strong-
lie defenced wealthe and riches of ma-
ny citie. But forasmuch as perfect cō-
corde remaineth, & wholesome lawes be
executed at home, the enue of al forein
princes be not hable to shake or moue
the empire, though they haue many ty-
mes lōg ago gone about to do it, beyng
succ^r

euermore driuen backe. Thus whē Ra
phaell hadde made an ende of his tale,
though many thinges came to my mīd,
which in the maners and lawes of that
people semed to be instituted and foun
ded of no good reason, not onely in the
fashiō of their cheualry, & in their sacré
fices and religions, & in other of their
lawes, but also, yea and chieflly, in that
which is the principal foundation of al
their ordinaunces, that is to say, in the
communitie of their life and liuynge,
withoute anye occupieng of money, by
the whiche thinge onely all nobilitie,
magnificence, wourshippe, honour, and
maiestie, the true ornaumentes and ho
nours, as the common opinion is, of
a cōmon wealth, utterlye be ouerthro
wen and destroyed: yet because I knew
that he was wery of talking, and was
not sure whether he coulde abyde that
anye thyng shoulde be sayde againste
hys mynde: speciallye remembryng
that he had reprehended this faulte in
other, which he aferde lest they shoulde
seme not to be wise enough, onles they
could find some fault in other mēs in-

S.iii.

uentions

The seconde booke

uentide: therefore I praissing both thete institutions and hys communication, toke him by the hand, and led him into supper: sayinge that we woulde chuse an other time to waye and examine the same matters, and to talke with him moore at large therin, whiche woulde God it might ones come to passe. In the meane time as I can not agree and consent to all thinges that he saide, being els without doubt a mā singularly well learned, and also in all worldely matters exactly and profoundly experienced: so must I nedes confesse & graūt that many thinges be in the Utopian weale publique, whiche in our cities I maye rather wishe for, then hope after.

Thus endeth the afternoones talke of Raphael Hythlodape concerning the lawes and institutions of the Ilande of Utopia.

To the right honourable Hierome Busypde, prouest of Arden, and counsellours
to the catholike kinge Charles, Peter Gyles
Citizen of Antwerpe, wisheth health
and felicitie.

Thomas More the singular ornamente of
this our age, as you your self (right honou-
rable Busypde) can witnesse, to whome he
is perfectly wel known, sent vnto me this
other day the playe of *Utopia*, to very few as yet
knowe, but most worthy, which as farre excelling
Platoes comen wealth, all people shoulde be
willinge to know: specially of a man most eloquent
so finely set furth, so conningly painted out, and so
evidently subiect to the eye, that as oft as I reade
it, me thinketh that I see somewhat more, then when
I heard *Raphael Hythloday* himselfe (for I was
present at that talke as well as master More) ut-
tering and pronouncing his owne wordes: Yea,
though the same man, accordinge to his pure elo-
quence, did so open and declare the matter, that
he might plainly enough appeare, to reporte not
thinges, which he had learned of others onely by
hearsay, but which he had with his own eyes pre-
sently seene, & throughly viewed, & wherein he had no
small time bene conuersant and abiding: a man tru-
lie, in mine opinio, as touching the knowledge of
regions, peoples, and worldly experience, muche
passinge, yea even the very famous and renowned

S. J.

travailer

traueller **Ulysses**: & in dede suche a one, as for the
space of these viij. c. yeres past I thinke nature into
the worlde brought not furth his like: in compari
son of whome **Uespase** maye be thought to haue
sene nothing. Moreover, whereas we be wot more
effectually and pitthep to declare and expresse thin
ges that we haue sene, then whiche we haue but
onely heard, there was besides that in this
man a certen peculiar grace, and singular dexteri
tie to discriue and set furth a matter withall. Yet
the selfe same thinges as ofte as I beholde & con
sider them drawen and painted oute with master
Mores pensille, I am therewith so moued, so deli
ted, so inflamed, & so rapt, that sometime me thinke
I am presently conuersant, euen in the plande of
Utopia. And I promise you, I can skante beleue
that **Raphael** himselfe by at that fīue yeres space
that he was in **Utopia** abiding, sawe there somuch,
as here in master **Mores** description is to be sene
and perceaued. Whiche description with so manie
wonders, and miraculous thinges is replenished,
that I stande in great doubt wherat first & chief
lie to muse or maruelle: whether at the excellencie
of his perfect and suer memorie, which could wel
niegh worde by worde rehearse so manie thinges
once onely heard: or elles at his singular prudēce,
who so well and wittely marked and barcaway al
the originall causes and fountaynes (to the vulgare
people comely most vnknewē) wherof both pflueth
and

and springeth the mortall confusion and bitter de-
scape of a comen wealth, and also the auancement
and wealthy state of the same may riese & growe:
or elles at the efficacie and pittie of his woordes,
which in so fine a latin stile, with suche force of e-
loquence hath couched together and comprised so
many and diuers matters, speciallie bringe a man
continuallie encombred with so manie buspe and
troublesome cares, both publique, and priuate, as
he is. Howbeit all these things cause you little to
maruell (righte honourable Bullid) for that you
are familiarly and throughe acquainted with the
notable, yea almost diuine witte of the man. But
nowe to procede to other matters, I suerly knowe
nothing nedeful or requisite to be adioyned vnto
his writings: Onely a meter of .liij. verses writ-
ten in the Utopian tongue, whiche after master
Mores departure Hythloday by chaunce shewed
me, that haue I caused to be added thereto, wth the
Alphabete of the same nation, and haue also gar-
nished the margent of the booke with certen notes.
For, as touchinge the situation of the plande, that
is to saye, in what part of the worlde Utopia stan-
deth, the ignorance and lacke whereof not a little
troubleth and greueth master More, in dede Ra-
phael left not that vnspoken of. Howbeit with pe-
rie fewe wordes he lightly touched it, incidentlye
by y^e way passing it ouer, as meanyng of likelihod
to kepe and reserue that to an other place. And the

S. b. same

same, I wot not how, by a certen euell and vnluckie chaunce escaped vs bothe. For when Raphael was speaking therof, one of master Moyses seruantes came to him, & whispered in his eare. Wherefore I being the of purpose more earnestly addicted to heare, one of the company, by reason of cold taken, I thinke, a shippeborde, coughed out so loud, that he toke from my hearinge certen of his wordes. But I wil neuer fynte, nor rest, vntil I haue gotte the full and exacte knowledge hereof: in so muche that I will be hable perfectly to instructe you, not onely in the longitude or true meridian of the plande, but also in the iust latitude therof, that is to say, in the subleuatiō or height of the pole in that region, if our frende Pythloday be in safetie, and alieue. For we heare very vncerten newes of him. Some reporte, that he died in his iorney homeward. Some agayne affirme, that he retorned into his countrey, but partly, for that he coulde not away with the fashions of his countrey folk, and partly for that his minde and affectiō was altogether set and fixed vpon Utopia, they say that he hath taken his voyage thetherwarde agayne. Now as touching this, that the name of this plād is nowhere founde amonge the olde and auncient cosmographers, this doubte Pythloday himselfe verie well dissolued. For why it is possible enough (quod he) that the name, whiche it had in olde time, was afterwarde chaunged, or elles that they

they neuer had knowledge of this ilād: forasmuch
as now in our time diuers landes be found, which
to the olde Geographers were vnknown. Now
beit, what nedeth it in this behalfe to fortifie the
matter with argumentes, seynge master More is
author herof sufficient: But wheras he doubteth
of the edition or imprinting of the booke, in deede
herein I both commend, and also knowledge the
mannes modestie. Nowbeit vnto me it semeth a
worke most vnworthie to be long suppressed, and
most worthy to go abrod into y^e hādes of mē, yea,
and vnder the title of youre name to be published
to the worlde: either because the singular endow-
mentes and qualitties of master More be to no mā
better known then to you, or els bicause no man
is more fitte and meete, then you with good coun-
selles to further, and anaunce the common wealth,
wherin you haue many yeares already continued
and trauailed with great glorie and commendati-
on, bothe of wisdom and knowledge, and also of
integritie and vprightnes. Thus o liberall suppor-
ter of good learninge, and floure of this oure time

I byd you most hartely well to fare. At

Antwerpe 1516. the first daie of
November.

CA meter

A meter of. iiii. verses in the Utopian
tongue, briefly touching as well the strange
beginning, as also the happy and wealthie
continuance of the same common
wealth.

V Topos ha Boccas peula chama polta chamaan.
Bargol he maglomi Baccan soma g ymnosophaon.
Agrama g ymnosophon labarem baeha bodamilomin.
Veluala barchin beman la lauoluala dramme pagloni.

Whiche verses the translator, accordinge
to his simple knowledge, and meane
vnderstanding in the Uto-
pian tongue, hath thus
rudely englished.

My kinge and conquerour Utopus by name
A prince of much renowne & immortall fame
Hath made me an ple that carst no plaude was,
Full fraught wth worldly welth wth pleasure & solas.
None of all other without philosophie
Haue shapd for man a philosophicall citie.
As myne I am nothings dangerous to imparte,
So better to receaue I am readie wth al my harte.

A shorte meter of Utopia, written by Ane-
molius poete laureate, and nephew to
Pythlodage by his sister.

Me Utopie cleped Antiquitie,
Moyde of haunte and herboroughe.
Nowe am I like to Platoes citie,
Whose fame flieth the worlde throughe.
Pea like, or rather more likely
Platoes platte to excell and passe.
For what Platoes penne hath platted briefely
In naked wordes, as in a glasse,
The same haue I perfourmed fully,
With lawes, with men, and treasure fyttely.
Wherefore not Utopie, but rather rightely
My name is Eutopie: A place of felicitie.

Gerarde Nouiomage of
Utopia.

Doeth pleasure please? then place the here, and
Well the rest,
Most pleasaunt pleasures thou shalt finde here,
Doeth profit ease? the here arrive, this ple is best.
For passinge profettes do here appeare.
Doeth bothe thee tempte, and woldest thou gripe
both gaine and pleasure?
This ple is fraught with both bounteously.
To still thy greedie intent, reape here incompara-
ble treasure
Both minde and tongue to garnishe richelie.
The hid welles & fountaines both of vice & vertue
Thou hast them here subiect vnto thure eye.
Be thankful now, & thanks where thanks be due
Beue to Thomas More Lōds immortal glorie.

For:

**Cornellus Graphey to the
Reader.**

Vilt thou knowe what wonders straunge
be in the lande that late was founde?
wilt thou learne the life to leade,
by diuers wayes that godly be?
wilt thou of vertue and of vice, vnderstande the
very grounde?
wilt thou see this wretched world, how ful it is
of vanitie?
Then read, and marke, and beare in mind, for thy
behoufe, as thou maie best.
All thinges that in this present worke, that wor-
thie clerke sir Thomas More,
with witte diuine ful learnedly, vn to the worlde
hath plaine exprest,
In whom London well glory maye, for wisedome
and for godly lore.

The

The Printer to the Reader.



The Utopian Alphabete,

good Reader, whiche in the aboue written Epistle is promised, herunto I haue not now adioyned, because I haue not as yet the true characters or fourmes of the Utopiane letters. And no marueill: se-

ing it is a tongue to vs muche straunger then the Indian, the Persian, the Syriā, the Arabicke, the Egyptian, the Macedonian, the Sclauonian, the Cipriā, the Scythiā &c. which tongues though they be nothing so strange among vs, as the Utopian is, yet their characters we haue not. But I trust, God willing, at the next impression hereof, to per-

fourme that, whiche nowe I can not: that is

to saue: to exhibite perfectly vnto thee,

the Utopian Alphabete. In the

meane time accept my good

wyl. And so fare well.

Imprinted at Londō in Pau-

les Church parde, at the signe of the

Lambe, by Abraham Isaac.

M.D.LVI.